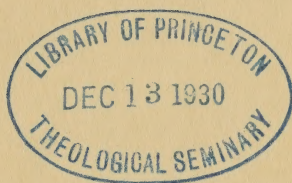


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IMMIGRATION AND RACE ATTITUDES

Heath Social Relations Series

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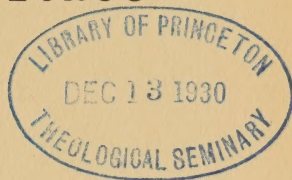
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Immigration and Race Attitudes



BY
✓
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OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

With a Foreword by

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Yale University*

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DEDICATED TO
ROBERT E. PARK
RESEARCH SCHOLAR

FOREWORD

Few Americans realize the importance or the extent of what is probably the greatest single issue confronting America, that of race relationships. No matter to what section of the United States we turn, we find that a major racial problem stares us in the face. In the South the question of the Negro is easily one of our most perplexing conundrums, in spite of the great efforts to solve it now being made by Southerners. In the East the great numbers of immigrants working in factory, mine, and mill present peculiar difficulties in industrial, not to speak of community, relationships. In the West the Japanese problem not only led our Senate suddenly to break the "Gentlemen's Agreement," but it still persists in causing friction and racial animosities.

The last United States Census showed that there were 13,112,754 foreign-born inhabitants of the United States. This is thirteen per cent of the total population, or about one out of every eight. If we include those who were born of foreign and mixed parentage, the number rises to the astonishing total of 36,398,958 — 34.4 per cent. Assuming a normal sample, at least one out of three people whom we meet, on the average, is either foreign-born or of foreign parentage.

We have had a great number of books attempting to describe the rising tide of foreigners who threaten to change or engulf our customary American behavior code. The present text is unique among all previous books on immigration in the following respects:

First, it makes use of the case method. Instead of treating the subject by using abstract material with a finely integrated theory, it presents case material of fascinating

human interest — fascinating because true. Whatever principles are given are based on an overwhelming array of factual data.

Second, it is the only text which considers in detail the fundamental basis of all race relationships: namely, racial attitude. The causes, consequences, and cures of racial complexes, stereotypes, and antipathies are fully treated. The author deals with changes in attitude, racial friendliness as well as the relation of the race problem to personality, public opinion, education, and social service.

Third, it is one of the few treatises which recognizes the necessity for giving at least as much attention to the attitude of the native-white American as to the various minority groups within our population.

Finally, the author has attempted to secure evidence for his study by statistical summaries of the "social distance" of hundreds of Americans. Though it is too early to be sure that these tabulations are large enough to be representative of the average American attitude, he has gone further than most other writers on this subject in basing his conclusions on inductive data. Whether or not his conclusions at some time in the future will have to be modified, at present no student of immigration can afford to ignore them. The class which now studies immigration without using some of the material contained herein can hardly be said to have adequately studied our American race problem.

JEROME DAVIS

PREFACE

In this report on findings concerning racial attitudes the writer has drawn upon his experiences as a participant in the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey, the Southwest Mexican Immigrant Survey, and Social Distance Studies (with materials secured from the eastern and southern sections of the United States as well as from the western). Each discussion begins with observable data and classifies and interprets these as found in dynamic human experiences. The interpretations have also been made in the light of a wide range of ethnological and sociological investigations that have been conducted by research people in many lands.

In this study one major theme has been pursued throughout — the theme of race attitudes, which is at the heart of race problems and conflicts. It stimulates investigation that is full of groping. It requires pioneering. The results are tentative; more problems exist at the close of such a study than at the beginning.

The writer is indebted to all those authorities who have contributed in the past to an understanding of social attitudes and values, particularly of racial attitudes and values. He is especially indebted to many persons who have contributed from their racial experiences, but he alone is responsible for any shortcomings in the findings.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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PART I
APPROACH

CHAPTER I

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

A migrating person is interesting. He is more than flesh and bones, more than clothes, a bundle on his back, and a satchel in his hand — he is a culture medium, and a part of all human life that has preceded him. In one sense he is an emigrant, trying to get away from something; from another viewpoint, he is an immigrant, trying to get into new situations. It is in the latter rôle that he will be considered here. In the next few pages he will be viewed as a composite of many immigrants from many climes.¹

The immigrant is a moving event in a long concourse. He is possessed of a fascinating set of behavior patterns and an elaborate kit of attitudes and values. Some of these patterns and attitudes have been relatively fixed; others are fluid; all have originated in response to psychosocial stimuli, and all are subject to change, but in varying degrees and under different conditions.

As a person on the move, the immigrant is characterized by mental mobility. He is troubled by dissatisfactions and unmet longings which have driven him forth. His face is set forward with anticipations. Even his fixations of action have their vulnerable spots.

The immigrant is a native on the march; he is a native of one country, trying to become a part of another country. He is a native, carrying evidences of his habitat not only on his back but in his sentiments, in his attitudes, and in his hopes. He is a native seeking "a more stately mansion"

¹ Based on a range of data secured by interview and life-history methods. A statistical treatment will be given later.

for his soul and the souls of those who are a part of him. He is a normal human being with loves and hates, fears and suspicions — in turmoil.

The immigrant dimly anticipates the necessity of making major changes and recoils. Grave rumors stare him in the face, but certain minor adjustments he takes as a matter of course. Letters from relatives or friends have partially prepared him, but the "worst" is often magnified, and the "best" does not materialize. He is shuttled back and forth between high hopes and dread fears. Now he is expansive, and soon a defense attitude develops.

The culture-change process begins when the immigrant decides to move. Promptly upon casting the die, upon seeing himself in a "breaking-loose" capacity, the old order grows more precious. The conflict of deciding pales before the conflict of breaking old ties. The first centers in the future, with its unknown elements; the second rocks the past, with its sentiments.

Personality-culture change is stimulated and jolted by the necessity of "selling out," of buying tickets, of saying good-bye to familiar scenes and one's beloved, with the piercing thought that this may be a final good-bye, and that "you can never tell what may happen." Time and again sentiment is wrenched. Personality meets the tests, now with defense reactions and now with stoicism. There is a mental clinging to the old and a running forward to the new. The whole structure of personality culture is shaken loose from its established moorings.

Then comes "the putting out to sea." It is too late to recant. The familiar faces stand out, in memory. The crowd of strangers jostles. Here and there episodes occur that challenge the attention of even a forlorn and storm-tossed mariner on new culture waves.

The immigrant arrives. So many things seem different; expectations are shocked. At first he sees *things* as differ-

ent, and then *he* is made to seem different. *He* is different. This awareness is isolating. He left the old and is now in the new — but lo, he turns out to be new, different, peculiar, an object of mirth.

The journey, throbbing with new experiences, is ended. Unpleasant temporary adjustments have been faced; the steerage has been endured. Confidence in human nature, built up in a peasant primary group, has been jarred; contacts with blasé strangers have been made. The mother tongue has failed, and exploitation has stalked across the immigrant's pathway.

Arrival is a great shaking-up time. The expected does not turn up, and the unexpected lurks around nearly every corner. The new culture ways are puzzling, and often upsetting. Conflict rages in the mind of the immigrant; disillusionment develops, and restlessness ensues. Personality is disorganized.

The immigrant, now a stranger, does not receive so extensive a welcome as he anticipated. He may even be the butt of jokes and sneers. From an important person in a native village to a "nobody" in a strange mass is a "come-down." His sense of personal dignity and racial pride is treated lightly. His people and their ways are not on the pedestal; they are viewed as inferior, and he falls within the shadow. Another culture is on the throne. But to have his own culture unjustly berated is first baffling and then irritating. Resentment mingles with disappointment.

1. It is, indeed, a great disappointment to me, and it breaks my heart to think that many of the good Americans who have been in my country have misrepresented my people to their own people. I have seen exhibitions in museums and in the windows of banks and big stores of the primitive utensils, furniture, implements, etc., of the backward and ignorant Filipinos. Some books are full of the pictures of the naked Igorots and their primitive ways of living — people who number about one-twentieth of the whole population. Even the missionaries themselves,

in their lectures and in their articles published in the papers, talk of the dark side of the Filipino life. Through all of these the American people in this country have formed the opinion that the Filipinos are nothing but backward, wild, uncivilized, and naked people.²

The conflict stages resulting from the immigrant's experiences may be slow in developing. His social expectations may be so dynamic and well organized, and his understanding of the new culture ways so imperfect, that many slighting actions and even insults "pass over his head." Or in certain cases, he may be so mentally prepared that he overlooks insults, because they come from people who "do not understand."

On the other hand, mental conflicts may grow apace, and the disappointments end in the immigrant's return to the homeland. The conditions in the new environment may prove, on the whole, less satisfactory than those in "the old country." Assimilation does not get under way. Isolation, both ways, occurs; and social distances remain unbridged.

2. I am disappointed in the United States. Since I was a very small girl I had heard of the wonder and freeness of the States, and at an early age I determined to leave the country of oppression and revolutions—my country, Mexico—and come to a place where all are equal and where all have peace and happiness. I find that this is only theoretically true of the United States.

My father was a landowner, and I had all the advantages of education through the grades and even high school. I attended the university for two years, but my father died, and I was compelled to cease further educational activities. At the time I did not feel badly over this, for I knew that it meant my realizing my ideal at least two years earlier—coming to the United States.

I had an uncle in the United States, who had written many interesting letters about his adopted country, so I immediately began preparations to join him. This I did, and as I landed in

² Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey (unpublished manuscripts), Los Angeles, 1925.

L., I thought surely Paradise could not be more wonderful. I had at last reached my "Mecca."

My first undertaking was to attempt to secure a position, as after my father's death the revolutionists had left us practically penniless. For weeks I went from door to door of the business houses, but to no avail, because I could not speak English. I enrolled in an evening school and with the assistance of my uncle soon had a fair command of practical English. However, by this time my dream country was beginning to hold less charm for me. All about me I could see trouble and disappointment on the faces of my fellow countrymen.

Then one day, being greatly discouraged, I went into a dirty restaurant and asked for a position. I had not the least idea what I could do in a restaurant, as I had never had a position in all my life. But to my astonishment the manager, who was a Mexican of the better class, employed me as a cashier. I worked at this for two months and then gave up the position to marry — my manager.

Being a more or less successful business man, he had accumulated a considerable bank account. My hopes were now for a home — a comfortable home like my father's had been, — so we set out to buy a place in a nice, clean, residential district. We were turned down on every side because we were not Americans. As a free, unbiased country my dream land began to fade in the background, and all I could realize was that I was a Mexican.

We tried other sections of L., but always the same obstacle arose, and more and more. I was aware that my ideal was nothing more than an illusion.

My husband, a very kind man, has business interests here, and does not wish to leave. But I am entirely isolated from all that interests me. I have no friends, as I live in a neighborhood of Armenians and Russians who cannot speak English nor Spanish, and we have little in common.

Mr. L. and I are American citizens, but in name only, as there are many rights that we cannot share. I do not like America, and I hope some day to return to the land of my birth — the land I really love.³

Immigrants heavily laden with a foreign culture may arrive in large numbers in a new culture area and settle

³ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest (unpublished manuscripts), Los Angeles, 1927.

together or settle with fellow countrymen who have preceded them, and thus live in a protecting culture situation. The children first of all, then the men, and latest of all the women make contacts with the surrounding natives. As long as the invaders remain "in their place," all goes well, even though their numbers increase rapidly.

But the presence of large numbers of "foreigners" represents an underlying competition. Immigrant children do not create a problem unless they reach a considerable percentage in the schools of the better-class neighborhoods or unless they are older or larger in size than the native-born children in given grades.

Numbers of unassimilated foreign women do not arouse race conflict attitudes, except indirectly through a high birth rate. Their many children may be pictured as a future menace. Slums are sometimes railed against and immigrants blamed. Sometimes slums are accepted as necessary evils; the denizens are pitied and even scorned.

Immigrants are treated as economic commodities because of the work they can do. As long as they remain docile and do not react against untoward conditions, they are tolerated in large numbers. For instance, despite large numbers of Mexicans in the Southwest today, no Americans are particularly disturbed by the presence of these noticeably different peoples. In fact, still larger numbers are being sought. As long as unskilled immigrant laborers, of any race, remain "in their place," amenable to control, all goes well. But let a few of the more energetic of their number climb industrially, start a labor union, or lead a strike; let a few of the families move out from the immigrant neighborhood into a better-class neighborhood; let a few of their children take prizes or class offices at school — and straightway the underlying competition is recognized and social conflicts are stimulated. Immigrants, who have been encouraged because of the work they can do, are viewed

in a new light as potential competitors for rank, position, status. The slogan is raised: "We are going to be overrun." The press carries antirace propaganda. Native children quickly reflect the rising antirace feelings of their parents. The culture of the "invaded" area is in danger, and many are the defenders.

The industry and frugality of immigrants are dangerous to the status of the native group. Their potential abilities are feared. Many of their cultural ways are not understood, and misunderstandings create prejudices. Antirace propaganda is both subtly and openly spread, and an overt race conflict is at hand. In consequence, immigrants who are slowly becoming unconsciously assimilated are suddenly made race conscious. The chasm between the immigrant's culture and the native culture is reopened and becomes even wider than before.

Assimilation processes are easily halted and turned back upon themselves. The immigrant who was unconsciously losing his own culture traits through modification is aroused by an adverse law or an adverse current of public opinion. It is announced, perhaps, that he must not use his own language or that he is to be "Americanized," and he promptly discovers that his homeland culture possesses an unsuspected preciousness. Indignant feelings and angry emotions lead to retaliative attitudes. A race clash or riot may break out, and racial antipathies may be greatly augmented. He may return in significant numbers to his native land.

Sometimes the immigrant who returns home has unconsciously changed. The "old" does not satisfy as it once did. And so he returns once more to the new culture area, this time to stay.

3. When I asked the Mexican women why they have returned to the United States, they told us that they "do not like to wash on stones." In other words, when they get back to Mexico, the

conditions seem unbearable. After having used washtubs in the United States, for instance, they cannot put up with the washing on stones, and so they struggle back to the United States.⁴

In a study of a considerable number of race conflicts, a lack of understanding and fellow feeling is usually found. This is social distance. If the factors giving rise to different degrees and grades of social distance can be described, then progress can be made in dissolving or even in preventing race conflicts. If these degrees and grades can be measured, then race attitudes, particularly those of antipathy and friendliness, can be analyzed and changes noted. Likewise, a scientific approach to the study of public opinion may be expected. Experimentation in measuring social distance has not yet reached the point of standardization.⁵

Race antipathy is a judgment, usually a prejudgment with an adverse emotional content. It is a defense reaction, a defense of one's status or of the status of one's group. Prejudice, at best, is a means, not always rational, of protecting social values; at worst, of destroying more social values than are protected. Prejudice is "a conviction held by the other fellow." My conviction regarding the shortcomings of any race is viewed by the members of that race as a race prejudice of mine. Prejudice tends to maintain social distance.

Racial friendliness means that a person understands or at least sympathizes with other races and would admit their representatives into status in his own groups. As understanding and sympathy grow, racial friendliness increases. The rise of racial good will is a natural process, subject to the laws of stimulus and response, and possibly of personal and social control.

To understand race attitudes it is necessary to know the

⁴ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

⁵ For some time the writer has been engaged in experimentation upon social-distance data and expects later to make a full report.

conditions under which they arise, develop, and change.⁶ The essence of these conditions is usually found in personal experiences, and in the psychological and cultural backgrounds which influence a person's interpretations of these experiences. Neither the immigrant nor the native may understand his racial experiences, nor the backgrounds in psychological and cultural processes, and hence it is necessary that all these be analyzed by research methods.

PROJECTS

1. Have you or your parents ever moved from one part of this country to another part, involving extensive changes and taking considerable risk? If so, describe fully the mental conflicts, anticipations, disappointments, adjustments.

2. Interview an immigrant who has been in this country some years without making the major cultural adjustments involved in assimilation, and prepare a written account of the major problems he has experienced.

3. Interview at length an immigrant who has become assimilated, and describe the changes involved in his assimilation.

4. Select a race besides your own with whose members you have had social contacts, and write out a complete account of all your main experiences with them, favorable and unfavorable, in as detailed and natural order as possible.

5. Describe fully a social situation in which the "natives" have become aware that the immigrant "invaders" are showing signs of getting "out of their place."

6. Reconstruct the argument advanced by Boas in *The Mind of Primitive Man*, showing the essential unity of the human mind.

7. In your own language describe at length "the soul of an immigrant," basing your essay on a book by that title, written by Constantine Panunzio.

8. Have you ever been abroad? State exactly the experiences which you had while there that influenced your attitude toward the foreign country or people that you visited.

⁶ Throughout this report the terms, "race attitudes" and "racial attitudes," will be used interchangeably, despite the fact that in some sections of the United States, "race problem" usually refers to the Negro problem, and that "racial problem" is a broader term.

IMMIGRATION

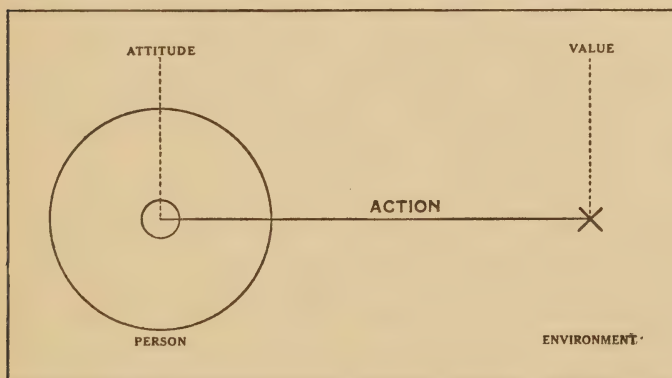
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CHAPTER II

RACE ATTITUDES

An *attitude* is an established tendency to act with reference to some phase of one's social or physical environment.¹ The objects of the environment toward or against which attitudes are expressed become positive or negative values. The connecting link between an attitude and a value is action, and the whole unit — attitude, action, value — is behavior, or a personal behavior pattern.²

Action is not only evidence of an attitude, but apparently is the medium in and through which attitudes develop. In



actions, and hence in personal experiences, an individual learns to respond dependably with reference to stimuli furnished by environmental "objects" or "values." The accompanying diagram illustrates the important rôle of

¹ Cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Vol. I, pp. 1-86. University of Chicago Press, 1918.

² Cf. Bogardus, Emory S., "Personality and Occupational Attitudes," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XII, p. 73.

action, and hence of personal experiences in the development of attitudes.

A *racial attitude* is an established (or acquired) tendency to act in a social situation involving persons of a race different from one's own. The members of each race possess attitudes, friendly and antipathetic, toward the members of all other races of whom they have ever heard. The field of study is large, but the organized knowledge of it is slight.

Racial antipathies involve unlovely behavior traits. They point to each race at its worst, or to some of the members of each in their unpleasant social contacts. Therefore an account of the behavior traits of any race that incite antipathy toward that race is a most one-sided picture. While these descriptions are not wholly pleasant reading, broad-minded members of the respective races will welcome the opportunity to study their races in the rôle of inciters of prejudice. No matter how unjust, materials of this character are very real, especially to the persons in whom prejudices have been aroused. Data of this kind imply some of the things that need to be done in order to remove the given races from the antipathy columns.

In the pages which follow, accounts will be given of the data contributed by many different types of Americans from every large section of the United States concerning their antipathies.³ Seven hundred persons have given descriptions of their outstanding experiences where race attitudes undergo changes or originate. "Outstanding" experiences usually include strong emotional reactions arising from unfavorable contacts, and hence they throw light on race antipathies.

In the main the race reactions revealed by the case studies correlate closely with the reactions secured from 1725 Americans through the "social-distance recording" method,

³ Secured by personal interviews (1924-1927) and from letters, using the case-study method.

which will be reported upon after the case-study summary has been presented. Taken together, the two sets of source materials serve as checks upon each other.

The races concerning which the seven hundred Americans most frequently reported unfavorable experiences, and toward which they accordingly expressed antipathetic attitudes, were (arranged alphabetically): Armenians, Chinese, English, French, Germans, Greeks, Hindus, Japanese, Jews, Mexicans, mulattoes, Negroes, and Turks. With three exceptions, these are Asiatic and African races—non-Europeans. The degree to which this list parallels the data given in Table II is a high correlation of the antipathetic reactions disclosed in the two lists.

Strange to say, Americans themselves drew antipathetic expressions. Americans are viewed with marked antipathy by other Americans. The personal experience data give clues. Exploitation of Americans by other Americans is the main charge. The wide range of racial types and behavior standards in this country is another factor. Americans who are "mad for money," "selfish to the core," "get-rich-quick promoters," "bootleggers," "law violators," "jazz crazy," are often mistaken for the American type.

Pronounced antipathies are expressed against Armenians on such grounds as lying and unreliability, insolence, "haggling among themselves," and uncleanness. Where the American's antipathetic experiences involve both the Armenian and the Japanese, the former are usually given the less favorable record on the score of greater unreliability and trickiness. Little consideration is given by Americans to the conditions under which Armenians have been forced to live in Turkey, or to the fact that lying and trickiness are necessary survival factors where extortion and massacre have continually threatened. They fail also to take into consideration the fact that, when repressed people are

suddenly released under conditions of freedom, they are untrained in making constructive use of that freedom; that the ordinary tendency for any one so situated is to go to the opposite extreme and to abuse privileges; and that the older conditioned reflexes still operate in an immigrant's dealings with the people of the new environment. Americans react quickly against deceitfulness in the immigrant, which, however, stimulates the latter to renewed deceitfulness.

Antipathy for the Chinese is aroused not only by meeting one or a few representatives of the lower social levels, but also by anti-Chinese propaganda. Both influences are likely to have been present in the American's earlier years when critical ability was undeveloped, suspicion was rife, and fear rampant. Before even meeting better-class Chinese or hearing one of them speak, Americans have often formulated repulsive pictures. These have become "set" in definite feeling and emotional patterns. One's experiences may include a low-class but honest laundryman whose yellow skin is "unpleasant," whose slant eyes bespeak "slyness," and whose conversation with another Chinese is "frightful jabbering." Worse still, the American may see a Chinese as a "villain" in a popular movie — and the damage is done. Later he may meet educated and gentlemanly Chinese, but they seem to belong to a different race from the original image of the Chinese. They are treated as exceptions.

The personal experience data of some Americans reveal strong antipathies for the English. The American who gives expression to this prejudice often confuses certain English travelers possessing "dudish and snobbish ways" with normal Englishmen. The American is sometimes the victim of anti-English propaganda. He has heard of Englishmen long before he has talked with one, and the hearsay is often unfavorable. The British Redcoat, the haughty English lord, the cocky dude, and the Englishman with su-

perior attitudes toward callow, youthful Americans are factors explanatory of the American's antipathy. The "up-pishness" of certain English travelers, their "perfectly gha-astly" accent, the wearing of a monocle, the kid gloves, are factors that do the harm. Thus, a few misrepresentative Englishmen are chiefly accountable for unfavorable attitudes.

Americans of immigrant or foreign parentage, particularly Chinese-Americans, sometimes report unfavorable experiences with British officials. "Haughty" or "imperialistic" acts of these officials are reported. Many Americans who have had favorable experiences with Chinese or Hindus proclaim their dislike for British "domineering."

Anti-French feelings have arisen since the close of the World War. Reactions against French "militarism" have been numerous. Many German-Americans have charged the French with postwar tactics similar to German methods that have been so completely condemned. Other Americans protest against "gay Paree," and still others accuse the French of being ungrateful to America. The non-Anglo-Saxon moral standards of the French are additional stumblingblocks.

Antipathy against Germans is in the main a reaction against the real and reported atrocities of German soldiers and war lords. Nowhere else in our land in recent years is there a better example of the power of antirace propaganda. The force of prewar reports of autocratic and militaristic "Prussianism" is still felt in the lives of older Americans. The reports of the dominance of the husband over the wife, of the numbers of children in the German family, of the "staggering efficiency" of Germans, of the "kaiser" with the upturned corners of his moustache (breathing haughtiness) — all these still live. The thought of a rapidly growing population, composed of highly efficient persons integrated into a powerful national

"machine" with an alleged Nietzschean philosophy, arouses fear among many Americans.

One Hindu with "a cloth wrapped about his dusky head," coming from a land where child marriages occur, where widows give themselves to be burned, where snakes are worshiped, where filth abounds and misery is unspeakable, where a despised caste system enslaves and where beggars are autocrats, typifies all those factors which create American antipathy for the Hindu. Of an appearance so different from Americans that even his ordinary smile is interpreted as being of evil design, the low-caste Hindu appears to be highly undesirable, and comes to stand for all Hindus in the American's mind. The race antipathies of Americans for Hindus are due in considerable part to sheer differences in culture. Wide disparity in racial cultures leads to misunderstandings, and the latter to fundamental aversions.

The strong propaganda carried on by the Pacific Coast against the Japanese is a significant element in American prejudice against that race. Most Americans have met only a few Japanese personally and casually. The immediate result has been a curious interest in them. On the Pacific Coast, however, there has been an "invasion" in considerable numbers of a people noticeably different in appearance and culture. Their industry and initiative have made them seem aggressive, and they have been viewed as dangerous competitors. They have "invaded" the status of American labor, the American farmer, the middle-class urban neighborhoods. But no one will allow his status to be invaded without "fighting back," which fighting takes many forms, such as making newcomers feel uncomfortable, issuing threats, initiating propaganda, and securing protective legislation. On the coast the Japanese have been pictured as coming into economic power, political control, and social prominence in the second generation. These suggested eventualities arouse fear, then antipathy. Com-

ing into sway with full force, anti-Japanese opinion went to the extreme of urging total exclusion. Accounts adverse to the Japanese have been spread throughout America, and feelings of suspicion have become common. The twenty-one demands of Japan upon China, the Manchurian and Korean invasions, the easy victory by war over Russia, a markedly different and "pagan" religion, a reputation for imitating western ways, emperor worship, militarism — all these are in the background of the picture whose foreground is race antipathy. Far-reaching cultural unlikenesses and an imagined magnifying of Japan's power, due in part to geographic and social distance — these work against the rise of friendly attitudes toward Japanese.

The antipathy that is repeatedly expressed against the Jew is usually based on a number of unfavorable contacts with aggressive and "bumptious" individuals. Sometimes a Jewish collector of old rags and iron, a picture of a Ghetto, or stories of degradation are explanatory of racial antipathy for the Jew. Individual experiences are easily magnified by virtue of a tremendous amount of anti-Jewish opinion that is present throughout the United States. Children are reared in this dynamic, anti-Jewish atmosphere. It is not unusual in any community for the Jew to be the butt of racial jokes, and as a rule there are enough lower-class Jews in the land to give point to this scorn and thus to keep it thriving. Despite the fact that nearly every community of any size contains Jewish people as fine as members of any other race, there are enough of the low-class Jews present in business and other occupations to keep the repulsive stereotypes before the public mind. The latter are described as "money grabbing," as "fussing about paying bills," as "crude and loud-mouthed." When the Jew becomes wealthy he does not always lose all his earlier weaknesses. The "loud-talking, obtrusive, wealthy Jew" is often notorious. The high-pitched voices of some

Jews, their aggressiveness in conversation, their thoughtlessness of the rights of others and of many social proprieties, their disregard for the "impression they are making" are elements in the American's anti-Semitic prejudice. The Jew, like members of other races, is continually getting "out of his place and into the American's place." Moreover, he is overtalkative about his success, which for many Jews is a "money success."⁴

Antipathy of German Jews in the United States for Russian Jews is often disclosed here, because the latter are not distinguished by Americans from the higher class German Jews. Likewise, antipathy of Russian Jews for German Jews because of the latter's "haughtiness and air of superiority" is not infrequently reported.

The Mexican immigrant is thought of as a peon ("something of low grade"), an illiterate from centuries of oppression, "a shiftless, good-fer-nothin'," or else a sly, manstabbing wild man from the lowest Indian ranks. Reports concerning Mexicans during border troubles that have occurred from time to time, reports concerning the depredations of the Yaqui Indians, a reputation for stealing ("taking everything they can lay their hands on") — such items give the Mexican immigrant an unsavory reputation in the minds of many Americans.

But the aversions for Mexican immigrants do not necessarily become prejudices, because the Mexican, despite his high birth rate and high immigration rate, is not a competitor. He does not tend to displace Americans from anything that they value highly. His docility saves him from having active prejudice aroused against him. But a "greasy, swarthy appearance" stimulates disgust, and his careless (or carefree) ways maintain social distance between him and Americans. Unfortunately, most Americans

⁴ The fact that many Americans are money loving does not prevent them from bringing this charge against the Jews.

judge all Mexicans by the peon immigrant types that come to the United States and by the lawless raids reported in the newspapers of nonrepresentative Mexican bandits in Mexico. American newspaper headlines too often create a "banditry" frame to everything Mexican.

The mulatto, as in the case of any one who is in a "betwixt and between" condition, is without full status in either the white or colored racial groups, of which he is a real biological part. There is a marked tendency for the better-class members of both his parental racial groups to feel that he is "not entirely of them" and "to blame him on the other race." Where race friction is as subtly widespread as in the United States, the mulatto is in an especially difficult position. The antipathy that each of the two races (white and colored) feels toward the other is likely to be felt toward the mulatto, and thus the latter is often under an antipathy fire from both directions.

Where there are births of mixed parentage occurring under illegal conditions, the stigma that these conditions carry is unjustly attached to the children, and thus the mulatto is again the victim of aversions, which he had no part in creating. American public opinion does not yet distinguish between the sinner and the sinned against, with the result that mulattoes suffer unduly.

Antipathy against the Negro is due to differences in biological appearances and forms, to variations in cultural levels, and to widespread propaganda. Antipathy against the Negro often begins with the prejudices caught by children from their parents. Many children early become steeped in anti-Negro antipathies. Fear images springing from a few emotionally shocking or "horrifying" experiences are effective. Aversions based on reactions against odor, color, kinky hair, and so on, are common.

In achieving, the Negro invades the white man's conventions. He is thereby subject to all the prejudices that

competition in status arouses everywhere. To have him compete successfully against them is especially repugnant to many white people. To have one's friends invade one's status and receive recognition that would otherwise come to oneself is hard to bear, but to have persons of another race, who have been "despised," rise to a position alongside one is "simply unthinkable."

To a high degree the Turk is the victim of adverse reports. He ranks among the highest in the racial-antipathy column of Americans and among the lowest as far as any direct personal experiences of Americans are concerned. Very few Americans have met a Turk, few would recognize one (provided he was not wearing the fez); but all have heard of him, often from their childhood. His persecutions and massacres of Armenians have been repeatedly told throughout the land; his Mohammedanism and his polygamy are the other main counts against him. The "religion of the sword," "the harem," and the "butchering of Armenian women and children" are pictures so repulsive that Americans challenge the judgments of those returned travelers from Turkey who have known the Turk at his best and who prefer him to the Armenian. Returned Christian missionaries, preachers, and newspapers report Turkish atrocities and keep antipathies for the Turk active in a country that knows few Turks intimately. Returned travelers distinguish between the government and unscrupulous Turks, on one hand, and a "worthy rank and file" on the other hand. The great mass of Turkish peasantry impresses those travelers as being a rather kindly, peaceable, but "ignorant and superstitious people," with their ignorance and religious beliefs being played upon at times by their leaders so as to cause them to commit acts of violence and bloodshed. Severest condemnation is pronounced upon the government and its functionaries rather than upon the great mass of the people. The massacres are sometimes

seen as "the carrying over of an old conflict situation and as growing out of a failure in assimilation."

There is a second large grouping of races toward which personal reactions were expressed, but in general ways. This group includes such races as Bulgarians, Czecho-Slovakians, Filipinos, Koreans, Magyars, Russians, Serbo-Croatians, and Syrians. Oftentimes these races suffer in the United States from being related to races against which a primary antipathy is felt. Filipinos and Koreans were not known personally by many of the seven hundred Americans, but were classed, nevertheless, "in the mind's eye" with Chinese, Japanese, and Asiatics in general. Likewise, Syrians are associated with Jews, and Hindus with mulattoes. Sometimes the illiterate members of one of these races have been mistaken for the whole race. Bulgarians, Magyars, and Serbo-Croatians are not known by many Americans, but they are pictured as being "crude and uncouth," remote from the American type. No strikingly unfortunate experiences are recorded—just hazy, uneasy, partly fearful reactions, which will be discussed in later chapters.

By the social-distance recording method a total of 1725 Americans (including the 700 persons from whom personal experiences were secured) have given their racial reactions in forms which may be tabulated. This evidence comes from persons who are representative in many ways of the better class and thinking Americans, from Americans living in different parts of the United States—the East, South, Middle West, and West, from both sexes, from different occupations, from persons of different ages, different religions, different educational levels, and different racial descent. All, however, are native born, and represent in the main the younger middle class; they also are persons possessing a high-school or college education, and hence speak for the more thoughtful and forward-looking members

of American life rather than for narrow-minded, older, or conservative Americans. The aim has not been to make a survey of as large numbers as possible but to penetrate as far beneath the surface as possible in a limited number of cases.

As is true of Americans in general, the 1725 Americans are descended from many different races, but chiefly from northern Europeans. Table I gives racial-origin data.

TABLE I
RACIAL DESCENT OF 1725 NATIVE-BORN AMERICANS

English	772	Chinese	14
German	328	Mexican	13
Irish	264	Danish	11
Scotch	205	Armenian	9
Negro	202	Russian	9
Jew	178	Polish	7
French	96	Czecho-Slovak	6
Italian	95	Greek	6
Dutch	81	Magyar	6
Swedish	70	Filipino	4
Canadian	64	Portuguese	3
Norwegian	51	French-Canadian	3
Welsh	39	Hindu	3
Spanish	38	Indian (American)	3
Japanese	18	Serbian	1

These Americans have given their reactions to forty different racial and language groups, including "Americans" themselves. Seven different ways of expressing racial reactions were provided: namely, with reference (1) to marriage with a member of another race, (2) to having members of another race as chums in one's social club, (3) as neighbors, (4) as members of the same occupation, (5) as fellow citizens, (6) to allowing such persons to enter one's country as visitors only, and (7) to excluding them altogether.

Table II presents the reactions of the 1725 Americans arranged in a descending order of favorable marriage reac-

TABLE II

REACTIONS OF 1725 AMERICANS TO 40 DIFFERENT RACES BY PERCENTAGES

<i>Regarding races listed below</i>	<i>1 To close kin- ship by mar- riage</i>	<i>2 To my club as personal chums</i>	<i>3 To my street as neighbors</i>	<i>4 To employ- ment in my occupation</i>	<i>5 To citizen- ship in my country</i>	<i>6 As visitors only to my country</i>	<i>7 Would ex- clude from my country</i>
English	93.7	96.7	97.3	95.4	95.9	1.7	0
Americans (native white)	90.1	92.4	92.6	92.4	90.5	1.2	0
Canadians	86.9	93.4	96.1	95.6	96.1	1.7	.3
Scotch	78.1	89.1	91.3	92.8	93.3	1.7	0
Scotch-Irish	72.6	81.7	88.	89.4	92.	16.7	.4
Irish	70.	83.4	86.1	89.8	91.4	4.	.7
French	67.8	85.4	88.1	90.4	92.7	3.8	.8
Welsh	60.8	72.3	80.	81.4	86.	5.4	.3
Germans	54.1	67.	78.7	82.6	87.2	6.7	3.1
French-Canadians ..	49.7	66.4	76.4	79.3	87.	4.4	.8
Swedes	45.3	62.1	75.6	78.	86.3	5.4	1.
Dutch	44.2	54.7	73.2	76.7	86.1	2.4	.3
Norwegians	41.	56.	65.1	72.	80.3	8.	.3
Danes	35.	52.2	65.5	71.4	80.1	4.5	.9
Spaniards	27.6	49.8	55.1	58.	81.6	8.4	2.
Finns	16.1	27.4	36.1	50.5	61.2	12.8	2.8
Russians	15.8	27.7	31.	45.3	56.1	22.1	8.
Italians	15.4	25.7	34.7	54.7	71.3	14.5	4.8
Portuguese	11.	22.	28.3	47.8	57.7	19.	3.3
Poles	11.	11.6	28.3	44.3	58.3	19.7	4.7
Hungarians	10.1	17.5	25.8	43.	70.7	20.3	7.
Roumanians	8.8	19.3	23.8	38.3	51.6	22.	4.6
Armenians	8.5	14.8	27.8	46.2	58.1	17.7	5.0
Czecho-Slovaks ...	8.2	16.4	21.1	36.	47.4	26.	9.5
Indians	8.1	27.7	33.4	54.3	83.	7.7	1.6
Jews, German	7.8	2.1	25.5	39.8	53.5	25.3	13.8
Bulgarians	6.9	14.6	16.4	19.7	43.1	21.9	7.0
Jews, Russian	6.1	18.	15.7	30.1	45.3	22.7	13.4
Greeks	5.9	17.7	18.	35.2	53.2	25.3	11.3
Syrians	4.3	13.8	18.	31.	41.1	21.4	9.
Serbo-Croatians ...	4.3	10.4	12.	10.3	30.4	18.6	8.
Mexicans	2.8	11.5	12.3	77.1	46.1	30.8	15.1
Japanese	2.3	12.1	13.	27.3	29.3	38.8	2.5
Filipinos	1.6	15.2	19.5	36.7	52.1	28.5	5.5
Negroes	1.4	9.1	11.8	38.7	57.3	17.6	12.7
Turks	1.4	10.	11.7	19.	25.3	41.8	23.4
Chinese	1.1	11.8	15.9	27.0	27.3	45.2	22.4
Mulattoes	1.1	9.6	10.6	32.	47.4	22.7	16.8
Korean	1.1	10.8	11.8	20.1	27.5	34.3	13.8
Hindus	1.1	6.8	13.	21.4	23.7	47.1	19.1

tions (column one). According to these marriage reactions, the English are given first place (as in the racial-origin table, Table I). Of the 1725 Americans, 93.7 per cent record a willingness to marry members of the English race (not the best or the worst members, but members whom they consider representative or average). Only 1.1 per cent would willingly marry representative Chinese, mulattoes, Koreans, or Hindus, and hence the percentages for these are the lowest.

Practically all the northern European races rate high in the sympathetic attitudes of Americans; for the latter, being largely of northern European ancestry, react in friendly ways toward their own racial connections. In the large, blood relationships after all operate strongly in matters of racial understanding and good will.

At the bottom of the columns, or experiencing the antipathetic attitudes of Americans, are the Asiatic and African races, with southern and eastern European races next in order. Attitudes of racial superiority, particularly of Nordic superiority, often explain American antipathies. The important question arises: Why the extensive social distance between Americans on one hand and Asiatics and Africans on the other?

As indicated in Table III, a case group of 202 native-born Negroes and mulattoes of high-school and college education, chiefly from the southern states, naturally put Negroes and mulattoes at the top of their racial preferences. French and Spanish come next. Asiatic races are put on the lower preference levels, which is accounted for in part by the influence of the American cultural environment. The reactions in this particular are similar to the reactions of white Americans.

A trend indicated in Table IV, showing the recorded reactions of a case group of 178 native-born American Jews, is the natural first preference for people of their own race. The

second line of preference is for people of northern European descent. Adverse reactions to Asiatics are to be noted, although the antipathetic attitudes toward Turks is much less pronounced than among non-Jewish Americans.

TABLE III

REACTIONS OF 202 NATIVE AMERICAN NEGROES AND MULATTOES TO 17
RACES BY PERCENTAGES

	1 <i>To close kin- ship by mar- riage</i>	2 <i>To my club as personal chums</i>	3 <i>To my street as neighbors</i>	4 <i>To employ- ment in my occupation</i>	5 <i>To citizen- ship in my country</i>	6 <i>As visitors only to my country</i>	7 <i>Would ex- clude from my country</i>
Negroes	96.	94.	94.	90.	92.	8.	0
Mulattoes	52.	66.	70.	70.	70.	10.	2.
French	32.	60.	80.	76.	72.	16.	2.
Spaniards	26.	40.	56.	46.	64.	24.	8.
English	16.	42.	72.	72.	76.	14.	0.
Canadians	14.	42.	62.	64.	68.	22.	2.
Mexicans	8.	20.	20.	28.	28.	28.	8.
Americans (native white) ..	6.	34.	66.	72.	74.	0.	0.
Hindus	6.	12.	16.	20.	18.	40.	20.
Japanese	6.	28.	30.	34.	40.	36.	8.
Germans	4.	22.	42.	44.	34.	30.	10.
Italians	4.	10.	20.	34.	34.	32.	8.
Chinese	2.	16.	18.	28.	24.	44.	20.
Jews, Russian	2.	12.	18.	24.	30.	34.	10.
Greeks	2.	12.	20.	24.	26.	38.	12.
Russians	0.	8.	10.	16.	30.	34.	20.
Turks	0.	6.	10.	16.	14.	38.	26.

One influence of the culture contacts of the Jews, as distinguished from the influence of racial factors in the biological sense, is marked. It is possible to discern the influence of American culture patterns upon the Jews. By the application of a refined statistical procedure to the data now available, it might be possible to measure the degree of Americanization not only of the Jews but of many immigrant races.

TABLE IV

REACTIONS OF 178 NATIVE-BORN JEWS TO 18 RACES BY PERCENTAGES

	1 <i>To close kin- ship by mar- riage</i>	2 <i>To my club as personal chums</i>	3 <i>To my street as neighbors</i>	4 <i>To employ- ment in my occupation</i>	5 <i>To citizen- ship in my country</i>	6 <i>As visitors only to my country</i>	7 <i>Would ex- clude from my country</i>
Jews, German ...	94.3	97.1	97.1	100.0	98.5	1.4	1.4
Jews, Russian	84.3	91.4	91.4	95.7	100.0	.0	.0
English	80.0	95.7	98.5	95.7	98.5	1.4	.0
French	54.3	84.3	94.3	98.5	98.5	7.1	.0
Germans	52.8	81.4	92.8	100.0	91.4	5.7	.0
Irish	34.8	71.4	87.1	95.7	95.4	2.8	2.8
Scotch	34.3	71.4	88.5	90.0	92.8	2.8	2.8
Spaniards	24.3	50.0	64.3	80.0	91.4	31.4	1.4
Armenians	14.3	38.6	45.9	64.3	70.0	10.0	1.4
Italians	11.4	45.9	55.7	72.8	91.4	1.4	1.4
Mexicans	4.3	24.3	28.5	44.3	50.0	15.9	19.1
Japanese	2.8	18.5	21.4	28.5	32.8	35.7	28.5
Turks	2.8	19.1	27.1	41.4	58.5	32.8	14.3
Greeks	2.1	27.1	34.3	55.7	75.7	8.5	1.4
Chinese	1.4	18.5	21.4	28.5	32.8	34.3	32.8
Hindus	1.4	14.3	21.4	30.0	24.3	41.3	14.3
Filipinos	0.	20.0	27.1	41.4	57.1	17.1	7.1
Negroes	0.	15.9	27.1	42.8	72.8	15.9	10.0

Thus the charges run, and thus race reactions develop and thrive. The summary of the whole matter may be concentrated in the one word, *status*. Where a person feels that his status or the status of anything that he values is furthered by race connections, there racial good will is likely to be engendered. But where a person's status or the status of anything that he values is endangered by the members of some race, then race prejudice flares up and burns long after the "invasion" has ceased.

PROJECTS

1. Trace the rise and development of the term "race," and make comparative studies of the different uses of the concept.

2. Make an analysis of the term "attitude," and give a critical evaluation of its place in sociological thought.

3. Choose some social situation that you know in which race attitudes are active, and describe all the pertinent factors that are operating.

4. Select any racial attitude that you have held for some time and trace its natural history in detail from the beginning.

5. Put yourself in the place of the member of any race in this country toward which there is extensive race prejudice, and describe fully your reactions to this antipathy.

6. Distinguish with illustrations between aversion, repulsion, disgust, antipathy, prejudice, and hatred.

7. If you have ever changed your attitudes toward any race materially, give an account of all the accompanying and explanatory factors.

8. Compare and contrast in every possible way the antipathies noted in this chapter toward any five of the races discussed.

RACE ATTITUDES

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CHAPTER III

STATUS AND RACE ATTITUDES

The commanding place of "status" in an understanding of race attitudes is beyond question. But what is *status*? A synonym is "standing," and a tentative definition: the personal rating given one person by his fellows. The wish for recognition is the dynamic force involved. Whatever lowers the social rating given a person or his group arouses prejudice. What boosts one or his group is likely to stimulate favoritism.

Status is used in this book in the social rather than the legal sense. Legal status, which is "standing" before the law, is often a far different thing from social status or "standing" before the bar of group opinion and attitude. Many persons have complete legal status, but are continually moving up or down as far as social status goes. One can lose legal status and maintain or even gain social status thereby in the eyes of one's friends. Legal status is quite stable and formal; social status is a daily, fluctuating, and unstable affair.

An attack upon one's status arouses prejudice as distinguished from antipathy. Prejudice may be viewed as the result of competition, whereas antipathy is more likely to be due to adverse sense impressions. An immigrant who offends one's sense of sight and smell by his uncleanness arouses disgust and antipathy. Because one's sense impressions are so primary and so far beneath control by the central nervous system, they constitute a relatively permanent phase of racial problems.

While prejudice, on the other hand, is aroused by com-

petition and attack on one's status, and hence is an important defense mechanism, it may pass away as soon as the competition and danger from attack on one's status is over. Being a defense mechanism, however, prejudice easily becomes engrained in basic behavior patterns, and is difficult to dislodge.)

Where adverse sense impressions are combined with fear of attack on status, or where antipathy is joined with prejudice, a relatively stable form of behavior reaction is established. The vigorous reaction of some Americans against a certain type of Armenian immigrant was at first composed of disgust due to the immigrant's unkempt appearance, and so forth. Later, it acquired a prejudice element, when these particular Armenians began to drive big cars and crowd Americans off the highway. Prolongation of combined antipathy and prejudice reactions creates a psychological wall which can be broken down only with great difficulty.

Status and Opinion.— Social status depends in part on public opinion. When public opinion turns against a person or a group, status is invaded. Not only that, but persons associating with or even "seen with" an individual or a group who has lost status also lose status. Even the surrounding neighborhood loses status.

Unfortunately, powerful public opinion is subject not only to the sum total of the prejudices of the persons involved but to a vertical suction movement. Public opinion devastates status unjustly. It often mows status down for no adequate reasons. It may frequently be accounted for by the poorest of logic, facts, or interpretation.

An ordinary person who is sympathetic toward and appreciative of the struggles of the members of a despised race does not dare to be friendly, lest the persons befriended assume too much and seek his company at times that would lower his status in the eyes of his friends. For instance,

there is the person who thinks that it is wrong to look down upon Negroes as belonging to an inferior race, but who does not care to make friends with any of them. "I think that I am a coward. I am a slave to public opinion." Or there is the person who would enjoy playing tennis with Japanese but shrinks from the resultant loss in status that would befall him in the eyes of his American friends. The wish to be fair in one's dealings with the members of other races conflicts with the wish to maintain status. The latter wish is a stronger force and usually wins at the expense of race friendliness.

A person in danger of losing his status goes easily to extreme lengths, such as denouncing an invading group, race, or religion, and by so doing plays the rôle of a "patriot," with the result that his status has been recovered. Candidates for office may go so far as to denounce non-voting or noninfluential races and by innuendo receive "votes" from hoodwinked Americans for being "loyal." In the United States the Oriental, having been made ineligible to vote by legislative fiat, has on occasion been the "goat" of politicians wishing to bolster up a waning status. In fact, a "loyal good-fer-nothin'" may be rated higher than a broad-minded "foreigner."

Status and Fair Play. — Status, whether originating in force or not, and whether relating to a person or to a whole social group, is likely to be maintained by misrepresentation, by subtle educational propaganda, by hoodwinking the honest but gullible public. National groups are willing to resort to war in order to maintain status. Both persons and groups struggle to improve status — generally but not always by legitimate means. Because status has been struggled for, it is precious; and because it is precious, it will be protected even at the expense of injustice.

Our National Exclusion Act (1924), barring the Japanese altogether, was interpreted by the Japanese as lowering

their status in the eyes of the world. By virtue of the Exclusion Act, the Japanese were put by Americans at a greater distance than were other races; and hence they felt, as we would feel if in their places, as if they had been put on a lower level, and that this lower level carried with it an indictment of their worth. The increasing of social distance by legislative enactment is always interpreted as a demotion in status—something which is intolerable to any proud people who have arrived at a position of rank among the peoples of the world.

The Exclusion Act likewise discriminates against the Chinese; but unlike the Japanese, they did not protest. They, however, did not have the political rank of a first-rate power, and hence the effect upon their status was not so severe. When they reach the position of a leading nation, our Exclusion Act will constitute a heavy drag on their status, and they will vigorously protest. To be excluded does not hurt, provided all one's peers are also excluded; but to be singled out for exclusion when one's peers are permitted to enter, is unbearable.

When some Americans treat members of all races on a democratic basis, there is often a double rebound. The Americans lose status, and their racial friends are made to feel decidedly uncomfortable. To allow worthy members of any other race to come to one's home, eat at one's table, or to marry into one's family, turns loose the hounds of gossip and destroys one's status. "A racial group toward which I have a sympathetic feeling, but one with which I cannot have companionship or business because of the social disfavor which would result, is the Negro race," says a prominent southerner.

4. I felt sorry for him (Filipino), and he has told me some of his problems. Last night I let him take me out to dinner, and then we talked afterward. One of my friends saw me in the restaurant, and today I was waited on by three of them who told

me that for my good standing I should have to leave off all friendly relations with this young man at once, or that my friends would drop me. What should I do? The young man will be more discouraged than ever. Here is an opportunity to do a good Christian deed, but my Christian friends won't allow me to do it.¹

5. Personally, since the Chinese and Japanese are both yellow races in a foreign country, I (Chinese) have a feeling of kinship with them (Japanese). However, probably because of my "social-mirror self," I have never liked to associate intimately with them. I know that such an intimacy on my part would bring criticism and that my family and friends would think badly of me. In spite of this, I can recognize the good points of the Japanese, and I certainly do not sympathize with the attitude of the American government toward them.²

6. As a child, I loved to sit on the carriage box and listen to our coachman sing songs as he curried the horses. This my mother explained to me was not the proper thing to do, for the coachman was colored. My love for darkie songs and stories was quite the bane of my mother's life for a while. When I was six years old, I was sent to a public school. In my room was a colored child. Secretly I liked to hear her talk, but I was well enough educated by this time in my mother's theory to pretend to ignore her.³

The occupations of immigrants affect their status. Where they become "servants," their status is at once fixed on a low level. When they crowd into "slums" and live in "dirty-looking" shacks, a low status is accorded them. As they rise in the occupational scale, their status also rises, first among their own people, and then among "outsiders," or the natives of the region in which they have settled.

Status and Mores.—Status depends in large part on the mores, but many matters are buried, or "forever settled" in the mores. Doctrines of Nordic superiority or of no racial intermarriage, for example, are powerful factors in

¹ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

determining status. Status is often fixed by rules of unwritten consent, in family traditions, in racial myths, or historical conventions. Status is naturally ingrained in social heredity, caste systems, class distinctions, and even in law.

In the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey certain Hindu immigrants were found who had married Mexican women, without having their status affected. Certain districts in the coast cities, occupied by white people, will not allow Japanese to move in, while others, also occupied by white people, welcome them. In order to know how status functions in race matters, it is necessary to study the mores.

As the mores regarding races varies, so a person's status may vary, even though his behavior toward other races does not change. For a white person to sit next to a colored person in a street car means one thing in the North, namely, a convenience; and another thing in the South, namely, a lowered status. In the North a seat is the desideratum. There may be no conversation and no effect on the status. In the South a white person sitting beside a Negro puts himself on the level of the Negro and promptly suffers loss of status.

A distinguished white northerner goes South and is invited to dinner by a prominent Negro. As long as the gathering is small and "no one is likely to hear about it," the Northerner is entirely at ease. "But let some of my friends (white) from Chattanooga come in, and I should begin to perspire."

When the native's status is "invaded" by members of another race, antipathy for that race usually flares up. Sometimes this invasion takes the form of actual moving into a given neighborhood. For example, Japanese immigrants are desirous of improving their status and when possible move out of "Little Tokio" into an area occupied by natives, but in so doing they get "out of place." Hence,

they irritate people who want an established order. They are more willing to take rebuffs, however, than to accept inferior status. Attempts to climb up from the lower status levels bring persecution and conflict. The dilemma is the choice between inferior status and peace, or recognized status and conflict. The persecution is due (1) to the immigrant's attempts to improve his status and (2) to the native's attempts to maintain his own status.

The race that shows initiative, one whose members seek better conditions, particularly better living conditions, "invades" higher-class neighborhoods and does more than it knows; it invades the status of the people living in these neighborhoods. As a result the latter become incensed, and race clashes become imminent.

7. Furthermore, the Negroes are not content to live in one part of town and the whites in the other, but steadily creep into all parts of town. In my community, the Negroes inhabit some of the best sections of town and are still spreading to other parts. We have had to move out, for we were ashamed to have our friends see us and have them say: "Do you have niggers on your street? How can you stand them?" Yes, it is our friends' unfavorable opinion and not any real objection that we have to Negroes that makes the difference.⁴

8. A colored man of near-white type purchased a home in a white neighborhood. He moved in with his family, who were all much lighter than the Mexicans who are numerous in this community. He improved his home and surroundings until it was considered one of the model places in the neighborhood. He lived quietly, and all was well until his race was accidentally discovered, when his home was visited at night and he was warned "to git out inside of twenty-four hours if you don't want your house burned with you and your nigger brats in it." He moved away, and later sold his home at considerable financial loss.

In the same community, opposite to the L. School, a colored family this year bought a house through a downtown agent. This time the people discovered it at once, and before the family moved in had called a meeting on F. Avenue of the local business men

⁴ Social Distance Studies (unpublished manuscripts), Los Angeles, 1926.

and others of the community. Next morning we saw the house placarded with such signs as "Nigger git out." "Niggers not allowed here." "This is no Nigger's nest." The family did not even attempt to move in.⁵

9. "We fixed him!" said a white real-estate man. "That rich nigger R.," naming a prominent and well-to-do colored man, "bought a fine house in our block. The first night after we heard about it we went there and threw stones through the windows and banged things up generally. He claimed he didn't know niggers weren't wanted there; but when he saw his house, I guess he found it out mighty fast. . . . Oh, he sold his place for whatever he could get for it after it was knocked up so. I don't know or care where he went so long as we got him out of *our* neighborhood."⁶

10. Appeal for police protection is useless; for although there are about fifty colored men on the police force, they are located in the colored communities, and the white police usually ignore if not actually sympathize with the white mob. A few, however, stick it out in spite of threats of violence. A colored woman and her invalid mother bought a home in a white community. She was given twenty-four hours to get out, said a warning note beginning with the usual words, "If you value your hide." She appealed to her colored friends. The next evening as the crowd of white rowdies began to gather around the house, a number of colored women got off the car at the nearest corner. In absolute silence they formed into a marching column, two by two — there were about one hundred in all — they marched to the house and stationed themselves about it. Gradually the white crowd melted away. The two women still live in that house. They were molested no further.⁷

["Invasion" is a key to a great deal of the race prejudice that exists between the native born and immigrants in cities. As long as races stay in ghettos or Little Italys, they are "all right," but when their members invade the "American" neighborhoods, adverse reactions are at once generated against them. The speed at which this invasion is undertaken bears a direct relation to the rise of prejudice. To the extent that the native feels his status has been lowered by

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

the invasion of his neighborhood or his occupation by immigrant people, to that extent his race feelings are likely to be inflamed.

Status has usually originated in force, and social distance likewise has been established by force, war, misrepresentation, and subtle propaganda devices. The status of groups has often been determined in the same manner. Moreover, any group or person will ordinarily fight to maintain status once it has been achieved.

Status is a result of competition; its existence implies potential if not actual competition. Status and competition, moreover, are opposites. One denotes stability, and perhaps stagnation and hence retrogression; the other, change, and perhaps anarchy. The stability, however, which arises from status affords the more energetic person opportunities to invent and to progress. The changes concurrent to competition lead directly to mental invigoration. Race stability and status may be synonymous with race pride and degeneration. Race competition leads to conflict, to changes in status, and to either progress or destruction.

11. An example that has directly concerned my family was shown when my father hired groups of men for work in a hotel. There was a group of American young men and a group of Japanese. My father had no end of trouble with the white men, while the Japanese were steady workers. They studied at night while the white men went out and often came home intoxicated. I hated to see foreigners take the place of high rank and always tried to defend my native brothers when my father had to turn away one American after another.⁸

12. My dislike for the Japanese is not founded upon any one definite unpleasant experience. It is, perhaps, envy to a certain degree, of the advances that these people are making over those of our nation. Fear that they may become too strong in our country as well as in their own, causing the next dreaded war, may stimulate this dislike. Their high birth rate indicates that they will soon have need of expansion. Trouble will be brought about if any such attempt is made.

⁸ *Ibid.*

My younger brother entered a Y. M. C. A. contest a few days ago. Certain honors were to be given to the winners of the first and second places. When I heard that Japanese boys took both these honors, a strange feeling of jealousy, because they had defeated my brother and his playmates, came over me.⁹

The discussion in this chapter of status and race attitudes is merely preliminary. Enough has been said, however, to indicate that attack upon status means prejudice and that immigrants who compete for a living or otherwise with natives are thereby arousing race prejudices among the natives. The interrelations between the origins of prejudice and antipathy are so important, and the relations of status and prejudice so fundamental that the several chapters will be necessary in order to interpret pertinent data. A detailed discussion of some of the special points will now be undertaken.

PROJECTS

1. Trace the historical uses of the term "status," from its origins to its present sociological meaning.

2. Write out a description of any experience of your own in which you have felt that your status was seriously endangered.

3. Interview a friend and write out any experiences of his where status played any important rôle.

4. Describe the various ways in which your present status would be endangered if you violated the prevailing mores regarding immigrants, foreigners, or "despised" races.

5. Put yourself in the place of a self-respecting Japanese, and describe your reactions in some detail upon learning that you and your countrymen had been excluded from a leading nation as "undesirables."

6. If you had an opportunity to sell your residence to a member of a race that was taboo in a neighborhood, at a distinctly higher figure than you could secure from anyone else, what would you do and for what reasons?

7. Analyze as many different conditions as possible where a racial invasion is most likely to upset the status of a community.

⁹ *Ibid.*

STATUS AND RACE ATTITUDES

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PART II

ORIGINS AND CHANGE

CHAPTER IV

ORIGINS OF RACE ANTIPATHY

Of the main types of social data, those describing personal experiences are perhaps the most significant. They reveal a person's viewpoint and disclose his culture backgrounds. They indicate the nature of his personal makeup or personality organization.

It is in the culture backgrounds that a person's reactions to his racial contacts are explained. But these are often very elusive, complex, and lost to research. Their importance, however, remains undiminished.

As a clue both to a person's culture history and to the factors leading to racial antipathy and sympathy, his personal experiences are outstanding. It is in these experiences that racial attitudes and opinions have their major setting. The origins of these attitudes, however, are not always clear. They may always be pushed further back. At least, we can not stop at any point and feel certain that we have arrived at ultimates. *Origins*, as the term is used here, means "emergencies." But these are always results as well as beginnings. They are outcroppings, revealing an evolutionary social process.

Direct and Derivative Experience. — Experiences that account for race attitudes are either direct or derivative. Direct personal experiences are first-hand and face to face. Something has happened in the presence of and with the knowledge of a person himself. Indirect experiences are hearsay. Something is reported to a person. In the first instance the contact is primary; in the other, secondary. The first is subject to all the excitement of immediacy and

proximity; the second, to the biases of other persons and to the errors of mediators. The first are real; the second are subject to the vagaries of gossip, and easily acquire mythical and exaggerated proportions. When direct personal experiences are vivid and emotional, they are likely to be lasting.

13. One day while I was playing ball with my dog, a Negro passing by the yard shot him. The dog had never bothered the Negro; in fact, the Negro was a stranger and had never seen the dog. I have always remembered the look of delight on the Negro's face as he shot the dog, and I have never forgotten the look in that dog's eyes, the quiver in his body, the pangs in his cry as he lay at my feet dying. Often when I see a Negro, I visualize that childhood experience of the death of my fondest childhood pet.¹

The indirect, cumulative character of derivative experiences is illustrated by the person who in childhood and adolescent years has accepted uncritically the biases of parents and other elders. Prejudices so originating are lasting, by virtue of fixations in the impressionable years of life. Derivative race antipathy is all-compelling until dislodged later by a series of direct personal experiences of an opposite character.

14. My early schooling helped to develop my hatred for the Mexican. I learned that Mexico was a lazy, hot, dirty country. There was no inside plumbing or bathtubs. The favorite occupations were drinking, siesta-ing, and bullfighting. Their exports were Tecquilla and bad cigars. These people were the same race that so badly mistreated our soldiers who tried simply to protect the American interests near the border. The Americans, of course, had no idea of grabbing any land while they were down there and were only interested in fairly judging and settling the various land claims. These were my reasons for being prejudiced against the Mexicans as a race. It should be noted that in all this time I had not come *personally* into contact with them.

¹ Social Distance Studies.

As I grew older, I began to learn how foolish my puerile prejudices were. I came into contact with some Mexicans and found that they were not fiends-in-human-flesh. They were human, charming, and one in particular was quite beautiful. Of course, such a thing as a beautiful woman would not influence my better judgment. Not very much, anyhow! I learned some of the truth about the Mexican War and the American wholesale "land-grab." I found that Mexico was not entirely concerned with revolutions and banditry.²

An analysis will be made in this chapter of leading types of direct personal experiences which give rise to race antipathies. While competition and loss of status are sometimes involved and prejudice aroused, yet as a rule it is the senses which are offended and antipathy which is developed. Hence this chapter deals chiefly with race antipathy. In the next chapter derivative experiences are the intermediate factors between the person and the event that is reported to him, and hence the discussion will be directed to the "media" of race antipathy. In a later chapter, indirect experiences leading to race friendliness will be treated under the captions of the origins and the media of race friendliness.

The conditions under which direct personal experiences turn into racial antipathies may be classified as (1) olfactory, tactual, gustatory, and visual conditions, (2) bodily insecurity situations, (3) obtrusiveness situations, (4) aggressiveness situations, (5) unreliability situations, (6) quarrelsome situations, (7) injustice situations, and (8) inferior-culture situations.

Olfactory, Tactual, Gustatory, and Visual Conditions. — Reactions against the odor of the body of the members of "another race" are often positive and uncontrollable. Otherwise fair-minded persons cannot overcome this repulsion. White persons react against colored persons for this reason, and colored people react against white people

² Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

for a similar reason. Sometimes this odor is attributed to excessive perspiration. "A greasy odor is very noticeable," and "they are often uncleanly in their habits and carry a disagreeable odor."

The tactual conditions giving rise to race antipathies are emotionally unique. Organic reactions are augmented, doubtlessly, by other adverse feelings and beliefs originating in one's cultural heritage and early training. The combination is difficult to overcome.

15. In trying to analyze this antipathy I have concluded that it is physical in character. I remember the first time a Negro child took hold of my hand when I was a cadet teacher. I went as soon as possible and washed my hand. Another time I was bending over one, he bobbed up and his hair touched my face. This time I didn't even wait; I rushed to wash my face. Even now after many more contacts I still have a most disagreeable sensation if I feel their hair. I deal with little children in school, and sometimes I give them a little pat on the head. By mistake I patted a Negro boy's head, and the feeling of wool on his head gave me a most disagreeable feeling of shock.

Once in a while I get a boy in whose eye I fancy I can see all the savage traits of his ancestors. Then it seems incongruous that he should be in school. He should be in Africa leading the life of his ancestors. Still I do have that feeling of physical repulsion in a greater or lesser degree toward them.³

Gustatory conditions are occasionally expressed. They are illustrated in the case of the colored man "of good standing who holds several degrees from important universities and who states that he dislikes the Chinese to this day, because when he was a boy he was told that the Chinese ate rats." A conditioned reflex continues to operate to the detriment of the Chinese in this person's life. A near-gustatory repulsion is reported by a person who dislikes both Greeks and Armenians because he has known coal mine boarding houses and restaurants where "they have

served food that most people would deem unfit for hog-feed (*i. e.*, spoiled meat and vegetables)."

Visual conditions are usually complex. This complexity is illustrated by the man who reacts against a few, and hence all, Russian Jews as follows: "I never liked the looks of his nose; his gestures, manners, and speech are so hideous that they have turned me against him." Physiognomy accounts sometimes for these adverse reactions; sometimes it is the unpleasant sight of "watery eyes" that arouses aversions. Or it may be "those terrible whites of the eye" that do not simply arouse repulsions but strike terror. Sometimes, it is "that staring at me" that stimulates unfavorable feelings. "In fact, they (Hindus) scare me. They are most rude to a girl and sometimes stare at you until you move. Then they smile. Maybe it is unintentional, but I dislike them very much." Again, it is "a sardonic grin" that does the damage, as in the case of the person who admits that she is unjust and unfair in her dislike for the Mexicans, "yet to see a Mexican idly watching me, with a sardonic grin on his face, makes cold chills run up and down my back."

16. My first encounter with the Negro was in Louisville, Kentucky, where I went to dinner at a hotel and happened to look into the kitchen where a colored man was preparing the food. At the sight of this black face, offset with those terrible white whites of the eyes, I was unable to eat my dinner, and so I left the table and went to my room.⁴

17. I have never had much personal experience with Japs. Still I was compelled to ride in the same seat many times in the cars. I had the same feeling of discomfort that one has when seated beside a colored person. Invariably they always had weak, watery, granulated eyes and lids. They kept repeatedly drying their eyes and lids and adjusting their glasses. It irritated me and did not subtract any dislike I had amassed from the newspapers.⁵

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Social Distance Studies.

18. About this time I met some Italians and their breath and even their clothes were so strongly garlic-scented that I kept at a distance. Garlic I thoroughly disliked, and hence I couldn't stand Italians. I had read of the blackhand and of stabbing frays and thought I could see blood and a pent-up anger in the eyes of every one. Those along the railroad tracks were kindly looking and music loving, but dirty, dark-complexioned, and very remote in type from my people. I since have had an Italian shoemaker. He is courteous, hard working, and I like his boy from whom I buy papers, but I still see blood and fire and pent-up anger in every Italian's eye and feel like keeping my distance and not getting too well acquainted.⁶

Sometimes it is the living conditions that are visually repulsive. "One day I went down to her house (Mexican) to take the washing to her. I never saw such a dirty house before. Everything was thrown about. Egg shells were on the floor beside the stove where she had thrown them." Or perhaps it is the neighborhood which is visually and olfactorily repulsive. "They have many overcrowded, dirty pool halls and dance halls. The homes are filthy, and the yards are covered with old bones, potato peelings, etc. The odor in the district is terrible."

19. My dislike for the Polish race is due mainly to personal contact. My father has his warehouse and the office in a neighborhood populated mainly by Polish people. Next to the warehouse is a vacant lot also owned by my father, and naturally he desires to keep it looking clean. But it is impossible to do so in spite of signs; all the neighbors seem to think it is a suitable place to dump all their rubbish. The lot is always littered with their bed springs, tin cans, and things of this sort. My father has also spoken to some of these people, asking them not to place their rubbish in this lot, but he could not get any satisfaction from them in this way. His warehouse is also often defaced by names and pictures painted on the walls by children of these same Polish neighbors. True, they are only children, but they show that they are not receiving training suitable for future American citizens.⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

Adverse auditory impressions are lasting. Terror is aroused. Oftentimes a single experience is sufficient. That which arouses deep fear can rarely be overcome.

20. When I first saw a Negro in my home town (in the Philippine Islands), I did not have any feeling of antipathy. The first dorky that I saw was repairing his automobile, for he had a punctured tire. Whenever a creature of this race appeared in that place, there was always a happy crowd which gathered around him. So this man was encircled by a crowd of boys, which I was in, looking at him with a perplexing curiosity.

The Negro could not fix his machine. He used all his instruments, recalled all his wit and energy, pumped and hammered the old tire, but his efforts came to naught. He became tired, he perspired; he lost his patience, he became nervous, he was mad. In an abrupt manner he kicked the tire and cried aloud to the curious children: "Get out of here, you devils." Then he swore the vilest blasphemy.

Terrified and astonished by the look and sound of the strange man, we ran away, but we were mad. That experience stayed deep-rooted in my being. When I was traveling and rode in an automobile driven by a Negro, I remembered that incident, and a new rage sought expression in my face.⁸

A race against whose members antipathy is aroused on sensory grounds cannot do much. The adverse reactions are so definitely organic, so closely related to temperament and similar hereditary factors, that their adverse operation can be prevented with difficulty. Particular attention to bodily condition and appearance, hygienic and æsthetic measures, however, may accomplish something worth while. The Hindu's attempt to meet adverse climatic conditions has a meaning that may be utilized in preventing race repulsion.

21. The Hindu's insistence on a daily bath early every morning as part of a man's religious duty; his insistence on the non-use of the previous day's clothes and on the wearing of clean, washed clothes every morning after his bath; also his prescription of the

⁸ Social Distance Studies.

washing of hands and feet and the wearing of silk garments by the exigencies of hot climate are all significant.⁹

Bodily Insecurity Conditions. — A person, or a group of persons, experiencing bodily harm at the hands of a member of a different race, react against that race. The wish for security has been jolted. Bodily insecurity conditions easily lead to antipathy. A striking, persistent, and uncontrollable sense of fear operates. A common case is that of a child who has been "grabbed" or almost kidnaped. A woman of training and tolerance who suffers a sense of fear upon seeing a Chinese traces this fear back to a childhood experience when she passed through a Chinese vegetable garden. A Chinese "jumped out and grabbed at me." She started running, with the Chinese coming after her and yelling something at her in Chinese. She finally reached home safely, but "until this day" cannot overcome a rising sense of fear at the sight of a Chinese.

Another American who reports that Mexicans are very repulsive to her states that this repulsion apparently began in fear, which originated "in nearly being kidnaped" when she was eleven years old. After that incident she observed every Mexican critically in order to decide which she should be afraid of. She came to think of the Mexican as "a greasy, uncleanly being"; and then, as she grew older, she heard many times of "the sneaky, treacherous ways and of their utter disregard and disrespect for women." Thus, bodily insecurity plays a rôle in building up race aversion.

Another person reports that, when he was a child six years old, his sister, aged ten, came screaming into the house one evening shortly after dark. She declared that she had been chased by a Chinese carrying a knife. "My father went out and searched all around but could find no one. He thought that my sister was perhaps mistaken about the

⁹ From unpublished manuscript by H. T. Muzumdar.

knife, as she is easily frightened and might have exaggerated her fear." Out of this experience relatively permanent behavior patterns of antipathy developed.

22. My parents tell me that, when I was a small baby, a little colored boy came to our house for the laundry. He was the first one that I had seen, and my reaction was to scream until I was red in the face. The little boy tried to make me stop by dancing a doll up and down in front of me, but I only screamed the louder.

The first experience which I remember occurred when as a child of about seven years I was visiting at my cousin's house. The grown folks were in the house and had said that we must remain outdoors. We were playing out in the front yard when a colored girl passed by, wearing what was, for that time, a very short skirt. I whispered to my cousin that the girl had a short skirt. The colored girl heard the whispering and became angry and said that when she came back that way she would stop and slap both of us. We were frightened and tried to get in the house, but the grown folks would not let us as they saw no reason why we should not play outdoors. We ran around to the back of the house and tried to hide on the screen porch, but we felt sure that the colored girl would find us there.¹⁰

23. We lived in a town in the Middle West. My father was having some improvements made about our residence and hired a Negro to do the work. This Negro was an old dardy of perhaps fifty odd years. He lived alone, in a little shack on the outskirts of town. We children always called him "nigger Martin," and our older brother and sisters used this name when they wanted anything done. "Nigger Martin will get you if you aren't good" meant more than the words to us.

The Negro Martin was digging a large ditch near our house. Of course, child fashion, we were there and observed everything that went on. After a while it became tiresome to us, so we thought we'd have some fun. As he threw up shovelful after shovelful of dirt we picked up pieces of dirt and threw them at him. He became angry (I don't blame him) and told us that if he ever caught us we'd "catch it." We ran and did not bother him again.

The next day he came and continued his work. We came to watch, and without the slightest warning he grabbed me into the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

ditch. I was so frightened that I cried and screamed while the others went to tell father. When he came and "saved" me, I was a most happy but frightened girl. The name "nigger" of any sort always frightened me from that day on. That incident and all our training about the Negro has naturally made me dislike and fear them.¹¹

24. My father owned a ranch up in F. county. There are many Japanese in that part of the country who have rented land in order to grow strawberries, and my father had rented a few acres of his land to a couple of Japanese families. One evening, long past bed time, we heard loud cries issuing from the quarters where the Japanese were living. Father dressed hurriedly and rushed up to their cabins. He found that a Japanese from a neighboring farm had tried to kill one of the Japanese on our place with a hoe. The latter seized an iron rod and had laid out the farmer. My father was never able to find out the real cause of the disturbance. As I was very young, I was very much frightened at the noise. I was also afraid that my "daddy" might be killed in the mixup. Many nights after that I would jump from my sleep believing that the Japanese were attacking us. My prejudice toward them dates from that night, and I have never been able to overcome that distrust. The newspaper propaganda that has been circulating lately about the Japanese wishing to seize the Philippines, etc., has certainly not helped me to remove my suspicions. Although I admit my arguments are not based on very strong proof, still I cannot change my mind.¹²

25. During a visit in one of our largest cities I had a distressing experience which has caused me to dislike a certain nationality of men. My feeling is not entirely one of dislike, but rather one of fear.

One afternoon I started from our hotel for a walk. I struck upon the seemingly brilliant idea of walking to the post office some fifteen blocks away. I had been there several times in our car, but had never walked. I was attracted by some gay little shops on a side street, and my curiosity led me into them. I was immediately transferred into another world. Bright rugs and draperies were hung outside the shops, and I was fascinated. But my plan to go around the block and resume my walk to the post office was not a practical one in that city of crooked streets. I soon found myself completely lost. Until this time the white robes and wrapped heads of the Turkish shopkeepers had thrilled

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

me. But when I discovered that I was "cut off" from the rest of the world — my world at least — I saw only very black eyes and sneering smiles. I asked my way and was greeted with a stream of broken English and wild gestures. As I hurried up the little street, I seemed to be followed and surrounded by Turks. I finally found my way back to the hotel, but the white robe and togo followed me for days. Even the present Sheik vogue has not reconciled me to Turkish and Hindu people.¹³

Obtrusiveness Conditions. — Obtrusiveness in any one is repelling. He who monopolizes the conversation, who talks repeatedly about himself, who talks loudly, who selects the best seat for himself, arouses unkind attitudes toward himself. When a person of "another race" does any of these things, he is doubly subject to criticism.

Persons who attain a new status suddenly — a wider freedom, or wealth — are likely to become inflated and inconsiderate of others. Immigrants and members of "lower races," when they make advances in a new country, are no exceptions; they are subject to and fall before these temptations, and as a result the natives react against them. The broader-minded and considerate members of a race must suffer for the obtrusiveness of their racial compatriots.

An American with contacts among the Hindus who pick cotton in Imperial Valley sees them as "proud and selfish." After the cotton season is over they buy cars and "feel so far above every one else that they drive right in the middle of the road." He accuses them of living "lower than Americans," of ruining the land, and either of "hoarding money for cars, or of sending it to India." The whole race is judged by the few who make themselves conspicuous by un-American ways, or by being too American. In the above report, a background of Nordic superiority is indicated.

26. The reason I feel especially antagonistic toward the Armenians is because I once lived in a small town where many of them lived and where they acted as though they had full authority.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Their prices were very low to Armenians, but exorbitant to Americans. If we were driving on the narrow roads and met an Armenian, we had to pull off to the side and let him have the whole road. This was very disagreeable for us, but we were afraid to do otherwise. On one day a friend of ours made up his mind to keep his side of the road when he met an Armenian, who had a heavy truck. The Armenian did not give way but overturned our friend's car, killing our friend and one of his children. The Armenian was brought to trial, but the Armenians were authoritative and the arrested Armenian was dismissed without even being fined.

It was this way in everything; the Americans were overrun. All of them took part in overrunning the Americans wherever opportunity occurred.¹⁴

27. The race toward which I am most inclined to feel dislike is the Jewish. I've had occasion to be among them in street cars, stores, and public parks in the city of Chicago, where they are numerous and powerful. In stores, especially ladies' ready-to-wear where they often have Jewish employees, they are most flattering and pleasant until they find out that I don't care to buy their goods, and then they are rude and even insulting.

I've often watched them eating in public places, and their greediness disgusts me.

We had a Jewess in our party on a European tour. She was thoroughly disliked and shunned by the entire party. This was not because of her race alone, for her disposition of braggadocio and self-conceit made her disagreeable to all. Often she would interrupt a conversation to force herself in.

Not knowing it to be owned by Jews, I went into a strange store in L. There was only one man present, whom I asked to show me an article of furniture. He became very personal in questions, and positively so rude that I made haste to leave his store.¹⁵

Aggressiveness Conditions. — Aggressiveness is an exaggerated form of obtrusiveness. In fact, the latter becomes the former whenever a person pushes himself ahead to the point of detracting in any way from another person's status, or when one takes away from another anything that the latter considers his own. When one's friends become aggres-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

sive, he may tolerate or excuse their practices; but when a stranger or "foreigner" does so, the practice becomes contemptible.

Immigrants who are more industrious and frugal than the natives may unjustly be accounted "aggressive." Any one who does something better than another person in the latter's field of activity is in danger of being called aggressive. A tolerant attitude is held toward an immigrant race as long as it does not become competitive; but when some of its members advance to the point of taking important positions away from natives, then the whole race is condemned as "unduly aggressive."

An immigrant race attempting to advance in the territory of natives must always face the charge of aggressiveness. It is confronted with unjust accusations. It may be suppressed. In our Anglo-Saxon atmosphere it reacts by talking of its rights and in emphasizing formal matters rather than inner needs. Its demand for rights is usually met by new suppressive regulations and legislation on the part of natives. There is a mutual loss of friendly contacts, and clashes grow into overt conflicts.

Real and open aggressiveness is viewed by natives with mingled hostility and a sense of gross injustice. If aggressiveness be accompanied by instances of insolence, then fierce resentment and bloodshed are likely to follow. Aggressiveness of immigrants is easily viewed by natives as meaning destruction of the latter's status.

Even the thrift of the Japanese is charged against them in a country which boasts of its Benjamin Franklin. In this thrift is seen the greatest objection to the Japanese nation. The Japanese immigrant has been thought of as obtaining "a few feet of land or a small store, and in a twinkling of an eye we find him either with a large amount of land or a thriving business enterprise." Thus the American's status is in danger of attack, and prejudice springs up.

Antipathy, due to offense against the senses, is also stimulated. The Japanese is seen living in a hovel, working with his entire family and enslaving all from dawn to dark. "Now these are the methods used by the Oriental, and the Yankee cannot compete with him."

28. I have developed my greatest dislike toward the mulatto. This feeling of dislike has been increased through contact with them upon the college campus. Although they respect the rights of others as far as they can actually be forced to respect them, they insist upon the full extension of their rights as an equal to the other races. They gather in groups at the intersection of walks and force others to go around them, and not infrequently walk in a body so that other people must be crowded off the walk. From observance of them in the public libraries, I have found them to be most disrespectful of the rights of others. They gather in a body around a table and talk and laugh so that it is impossible to study near them.¹⁶

29. I am a native son of California, and I love it and hate to see it overrun by other races. I dislike the Japanese, because they are doing this to California. Their women as well as their men get out in the fields and work from dawn till dark every day in the week including Sunday. They also live on nearly nothing and lead a distinctly poor type of life. (This does not refer to the higher class of Japanese but to the common person in California.) They have no thought for the betterment of the United States or California, but they hope to save enough money to go back to Japan. It seems to me that this motive is entirely selfish in this respect. By doing this hard work in the fields, they throw our American farmers out of work, because Americans will not lower themselves to work like the Japanese to compete with them.

Of course, there are exceptions to this rule, but I still dislike the Japanese and will most probably continue to dislike them.¹⁷

30. The racial group I dislike most is the Negro. When I was younger I rather sympathized with the black man, because, I suspect, of a number of books I had read giving his side of the problem. For about the last ten years my dislike has increased, as I have seen more of them and come in contact with them. It is especially their boasting attitude that I object to. In southern cities it is probably different, but here they crowd on street cars,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

rudely and roughly pushing their way forward without any respect for others' rights. This applies to Negro men and women alike. They get the best seats in the cars and give up their seats to no one, lame or aged. Besides, they are usually dirty and evil-smelling, obnoxious in all ways; and instead of keeping in their place, they push themselves forward and increase their rudeness. When a Negro is driving a machine, he invariably takes the middle of the road and allows no one to pass. It is the result of experiences like these that has caused my intense dislike of the black man.¹⁸

Quarrelsome Conditions.—A person quickly tires of quarrelsome companions, of people who are "fussy" over small matters, even though they be his own relatives or friends. He is still less patient with immigrant neighbors "who are all the time haggling among themselves." On occasion, a friendly but exciting conversation among "foreigners" is mistaken by natives for a brawl. Races with loquacious or loud-talking members are misjudged. To have immigrant neighbors "spend not a congenial moment together" is unbearable.

31. Armenians were put on my minus list because of the traits I have come to attribute to their race after two years of experience of a very personal sort that I had with two Armenian girls and their families. I gained this experience as a freshman and sophomore in a college where I lived in the same house with these two girls. Their relatives and friends came often to see them; and if I had had no closer contact than the meeting of these individuals, my impression would have been of a very negative sort. They spent not a happy or congenial moment. There was always haggling over small points, expressions of distrust against people against whom they had no proof of wrongdoing except their own suspicious natures. Even though these people were high-class representatives of their race, they were unclean in their habits, and the girls were the despair of the house mother.

The two girls chummed together and said that they had always been pals. But they were so suspicious of each other and so dis-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

trustful of one another's movements that they were in a constant state of underhanded examination and investigation. They told us stories against each other that would have turned us completely away from the one maligned except that we understood the situation and made allowances.

Since my experiences of those two years, I have met people from the Armenian district around F., and they all tell the same experiences with the race as a large group.¹⁹

Unreliability Conditions.—To find friends unreliable shakes the very foundations of social life. Certainty disappears. Most persons, however, hold strangers to stricter accountability than friends, or at least are less inclined to excuse them for the fatal shortcoming of unreliability than they are personal friends.

Strangers and foreigners, on the other hand, are less careful about conducting themselves reliably in their dealings with natives than with their racial associates, and thus any unreliability they manifest is subject to dual exaggeration. The greater the social distance the more the native magnifies the immigrant's unreliability. Also, the greater the social distance, the less careful the immigrant is in regard to reliability.

For a "foreigner" to "short change" or "double cross" a native in a business deal is a heinous sin. Slyness, trickiness, and stealing are important variations of unreliability conditions. The slightest evidences of dishonesty in race relations are greatly magnified. An American reacts against Greeks because the Greeks whom he has known are restaurant keepers and storekeepers who "do business on a mean scale," who give "as little as possible," and are disagreeable when complaint is made, who come to this country "to make a lot of money and to do as little as they can for it." Not only do they seem to be deceitful but "overcharging and underweighing bothers them not a bit."

32. I took a check from a well-known Hindu, while working in a department store, and upon calling the bank found that there were no funds to meet it. When the manager investigated, he found that the Hindu had five accounts and that he would transfer his money from one to another every two months and write checks on the account just closed. I have found that many Hindus have instructed the banks not to cash any checks drawn on them that are not signed in both Latin scrip and in their own hieroglyphics, and sometimes require that the check bear the thumb print of its writer. In short, the merchants say that there are but three honest Hindus in V.²⁰

33. I have developed a prejudice against Jews. It is an unfair one to hold against the race, because it has developed only as a result of unfavorable impressions formed of certain individuals of that race with whom I have come in contact.

As a girl I lived in a small town where the largest stores were owned and operated by Jews. They were always advertising sales and making a great display of bargains. People who were really good judges of bargains found that perhaps one or two articles advertised were good values, but that everything else had been advertised just to attract crowds. The proprietors were never willing to make adjustments and satisfy customers. Their main object was to accumulate as much money as possible without consideration for the public.

A few years ago I went with a friend to a small store in C. The friend wished to purchase a coat. The one she liked and tried on was priced at fifty-five dollars. The Jewess who waited on her and who was also the proprietor of the place, used all of her powers of persuasion to convince my friend that she ought to buy. Before we left the store she offered the coat for forty dollars. Had my friend paid the fifty-five dollars asked in the first place, she would probably have paid a great deal more than the coat was worth.²¹

34. I used to like the Negroes as well as any race, if not more, for my father had reared us all to believe in the brotherhood of man. My father has always been, and still is, very good to the Negroes. Eight years ago he had some Negro men working for him. As I have said, he was good to them and never "drove" them. But in spite of his kindnesses, such as lending them money and giving them every consideration that one possibly can to people who are working for one, two of these Negroes were con-

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

stantly stealing things from my father. These thefts were not noticeable at first, but later they grew so much that father, careless though he was, noticed them. The police were informed, and shortly it was found that these Negroes had been selling great quantities of sacks marked and bundled in a peculiar way that my father had, to father's competitor!

My father did not prosecute these Negroes, and indeed even hired the brother of one of them later on. From time to time, however, various thefts were discovered which were committed by the Negroes my father employed. My father always paid his men well and to this day still hires and trusts the Negroes as much as ever. But I am not so kindly as he; I cannot bear their dishonesty on top of their laziness. They know that my father is "easy-going," and so they take advantage of him, and move about their work at a snail's pace. Because of these experiences with the Negroes, I have grown to distrust them and to think of them as very, very lazy.²²

Injustice Conditions.—A sense of having suffered injustice is a universal factor in creating racial antipathy. When discrimination occurs against one's self or race, accompanied by inconsistency, the response is sharply antagonistic. Oppressed persons or peoples almost invariably voice injustice repulsions. Sympathy for one's fellow sufferers is a dynamic factor. When an oppressed group takes the law into its own hands and ignores the established (or autocratic) order, the representatives of the latter also protest in terms of injustice antipathies. Injustice stimulates counter injustices.

An American who dislikes Italians finds that the mention of the race brings to his mind the "many murders committed by Italians in 'Little Italy' and elsewhere." The principle of taking the law in their own hands, of taking personal revenge, of ignoring American laws is a factor in arousing prejudice against them. An American admits that to judge all Italians by the least desirable is probably unjust, and yet he says he cannot prevent himself from doing such injustice.

35. There is no racial group for which I have the most dislike. But if some one forced me to answer this question, I would say that I don't like the Americans. The Japanese people criticize Americans by saying, "Americans are inconsistent; they know how to talk love of God, but they do not know how to love people. They talk much about humanity, justice, and equality, and yet they do not learn how to treat others equally. What is the use in sending missionaries to a foreign land and preaching the Gospel, when they cannot live on the "principles of Christ"? If I shall count, there are many other criticisms as to the deeds of Americans. Of course, I do know that politics and religion do not go together; they often go opposite directions. But I think that, if at least the Christian people in America will apply the principles of Christ to their living, there would not be so much disturbance between the races and the nationalities. Inconsistency is a part of American culture. How can we love it?

Furthermore, if I did not have bad personal impressions, I might not say that I don't like Americans, though in fact there is inconsistency as a nation. But how individual Americans look at us, how they treat us! As long as we are living as humans, is it not natural for us to have antagonistic feelings when we are treated as an inferior race? ²³

36. Chinese immigration is not settled yet. Because the mode of so doing is one of thoughtlessness, arrogance, prejudice, discrimination (or lack of it) and so wholly insulting, it cannot possibly settle any question for long. America's treatment of the Chinese immigration question is so unfair and has been performed in so terrible a manner that it cannot but cause bitterness in the hearts of proud and thinking — and if you will — merely self-respecting Chinese. At present, China is in a state of internal dissension; so much so that she cannot pay adequate attention to her international affairs. For this reason, and because China has always been a nation of easy-going peace lovers, little protest has been made against the unfair treatment given her people. The time will undoubtedly come (however far off it may be) when China's strength will be so great, or at least so established, that her demands for fairer play must be met by constructive efforts and clear thinking instead of by the careless and thoughtless present method.

The "student class" is another cause why the immigration question is not yet settled. We students in America, as much

²³ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

like Americans as you of American blood, resent the American attitude. Many of us have the right to vote and have influence with those Chinese merchants who also are American citizens. We will number sufficiently, in a day not too far removed, to have a speaking and heard voice in international politics, when harsh legislation against our people will be defeated by us.²⁴

Inferior-Culture Conditions.—The conditions already presented that arouse race antipathies may occur in almost any combination or set of combinations. Rarely, in fact, does any one of them occur alone. Taken together they are viewed as “inferior culture.” Acts that a person or his friends would not stoop to perform, when done by “outsiders” are “inferior” and repulsive.

The lower-culture members of any race stimulate discrimination against that race, including the higher-culture members. A few low-grade persons can ruin the reputation of a whole race. Observers report that they “know better” than to make unfavorable generalizations regarding an entire race because of a few cads, but that they are unable to dismiss the emotional accompaniments.

37. The only race of white people that I greatly dislike is the French-Canadian. The place where I have lived all my life is primarily a French-Canadian town. These people are ignorant, sly, oily, deceitful, and have many other characteristics that are low-down. They make poor neighbors, are clannish, make no attempt to learn the English language, and even teach their children to speak French when they are at home. I have known quite a few girls very well, and they fall short when it comes to being a good friend. They are not to be trusted in their dealings with each other. They do not keep their word. I know my statements are very narrow-minded, but they are really true.²⁵

38. My observance of German neighbors causes a dislike most especially toward the men. Their attitude toward their girls and women is one of superiority. I have known the German father to work his girls on the farm and send all the boys off to colleges and universities. In one family which lived in a small town and, of course, had no conveniences for the housekeeper, the

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Social Distance Studies.

husband would sit and read day after day, while the wife tended to three crying babies and took in washing to pay his bills. He carried no water, lifted no tubs, but peacefully smoked his pipe and read his German news.²⁶

39. One of the races I would not admit to citizenship in the United States is the Hindus. When I was in high school, we visited a foreign vessel in R. It was manned with Hindu labor and white officers. The Hindus had such greasy hair. Isn't that an idiotic thing to remember? And their tribal customs were so hard and fast. Two tribes were represented on the boat, and neither would have anything to do with the other, as religious customs forbade. I remember too that the ship was foul smelling because the Hindus could only eat fresh killed mutton, and they therefore always carried a large supply of livestock. The animals had to be killed in a certain manner, and by a headman or priest. Such customs seem so crude and superstitious.²⁷

In rare instances a person may develop a repulsion against his own race. He may be in a foreign land and see his own race at a distance or in the light of their worst dealings with foreign peoples. He sees his own race, particularly the lower-culture members of his own race, through the eyes of other races.

Again, he may know little or nothing against his own race, but he hears them so repeatedly extolled that he reacts against them. This adverse repulsion is particularly strong in the case of a person governed by contrasuggestion. "Although I am partly Scotch, the very mention of the name makes me prickle with antagonism. I think that this is due, probably, to the Scotch virtues which were held up to me as a pattern on which to model myself."

The data submitted in this chapter point to certain origins of race antipathy and prejudice. That feelings of dislike originate in unpleasant sense reactions, and that prejudice is born of an endangered social status, are conclusions that are clear.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

PROJECTS

1. Prepare a history of the term "prejudice."
2. Choose some race for which you feel antipathy, and describe the various experiences that you have had with the members of this race.
3. Describe the various unfavorable reactions that you have had to your own race.
4. Give an account of any of your racial contacts as a child or youth in which you experienced fear.
5. Give instances in detail in which you have reacted against the members of a race because of their obtrusiveness.
6. Suggest a program for the members of a race to pursue whose fellow members have aroused antipathy against that race because of obtrusiveness and aggressiveness.
7. Outline programs for persons to pursue who wish to overcome a deep-seated set of antipathies for a given race, acquired through each of the seven sets of conditions discussed in this chapter.

ORIGINS OF RACE ANTIPATHY

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CHAPTER V

MEDIA OF ANTIPATHY

In addition to the direct origins of racial antipathy and prejudice in personal experiences, there are significant derivative origins. These occur in the experiences of a person's friends or relatives, or possibly, at the other extreme, in the experiences of strangers remote in both space and time, in social distance, and in myth. At any rate, they are transmitted. Significant phases of derivative race aversions are the media or the agencies through which they are transmitted.

Reactions to derivative experiences, as in the case of direct contacts, depend upon a person's previously organized behavior patterns. A given set of derivative or hearsay statements will arouse antagonism in one person and friendliness in another, depending on the nature of the life pattern.

The media by which unfavorable race experiences are transmitted from one person to another and by which they often become grossly distorted are many. Six types will be indicated here.

Family Media. — Within the family circle much is said or implied which engenders race antipathy in children and youth. Parents talking to each other, particularly the table talk of adults, is effective stimulus. When the father speaks feelingly about some "—— dago," the child sits quietly by, while anti-Italian behavior patterns are set up in his nature. Short, sharp antipathy expressions of parents to particular and repulsive race experiences, occurring in the course of the day's work, are the main factors in "passing

on " race antipathy. A considerable proportion of the race prejudice in the world has been acquired in this way.

Frequently, a child plays with a boy or girl of another race, and is entirely happy in his new-found playmate, until he hears his mother exclaim: "What! Have you been playing with that nigger! I won't have it." The child, entirely innocent of having committed a great sin, is shocked into accepting his parent's antipathies.

Often through the family a child acquires a race superiority attitude with reference to his own race — a Nordic complex, for instance. The development of such an attitude necessarily involves racial distance reactions. Such an attitude gives rise naturally to antipathy toward "inferior" races, and hence toward all other races in varying degrees. A person reports, for instance, that he dislikes the Negro, because of no particular incidents, that he holds this dislike "on general principles," and that he "was brought up on that feeling." He adds that his father and mother dislike Negroes, "so that tended to make me do so too."

The distinctive influence of derivative racial dislikes originating in the family circle is often brought into contrast with later direct experiences. An adult looking back on his early adverse reactions toward the French sees these as duplicates of his parents' attitudes. When he compares these with his pleasant experiences as an adult with the French, he is able to define the rôle of his family group as mediating antipathy.

40. When my daughter entered junior high school, one of the first things she did was to choose a little colored girl for a "locker" companion. When we spoke to her about it, she said that she didn't see anything wrong about it, that the colored girl was friendly, and that it seemed quite natural. We had to tell her that she could play with the colored girl at our house, but that at school she had better not have the colored girl for a companion

because of what the other white children would say and think of our daughter.¹

41. My grandfather was a slave owner, and my father was a manager of the slaves on my grandfather's plantation. After I was born I soon came to face the colored people with not only a feeling of superiority but with an awful prejudice against the race. I have often heard my father argue that the Negro had no soul. The day of slavery was over, but the spirit of slavery persisted. There were many exceptions of Negroes for whom I cared very much, especially my colored mammy.²

Associates. — A child's chum or an adult's close friend may have had an unfortunate experience or two with some "foreigner" and have "exploded" against the whole race represented by that hapless person. The antipathetic reactions are felt as one's own, and a race antipathy is fixated. In adolescence, boys frequently indulge in "shooting" and similar games. Indians, Mexicans, Negroes, or some other despised people are "hunted" and "shot down." If captured, the "enemy" is sure to torture the captives unmercifully.

Perchance a person may have an associate in business or social life who has pronounced race antipathies. To maintain status in such an associate's eyes, one must agree with or tactfully assume the associate's antipathies. By oft repeating such a rôle a person develops similar antipathies. In one's social contacts, a person must not be seen with members of the race that are taboo. In this way also he acts the part of possessing race aversions, and thus may actually develop them as his own.

42. My best friend at school was the daughter of one of the wealthiest men in the small town. Her father was German, and she lived in constant fear of him. Once or twice I had ventured to go to her home, but while there I too felt the same cold fear lest her father come in.

Very often this little girl was kept home from school by

¹ Social Distance Studies.

² *Ibid.*

her father for reasons unknown to the rest of us. She would confide to me sometimes of treatment which she received from her father and which to me seemed very unjust. She was always poorly clad and seldom had even a nickel to spend on what we considered the necessities of school life. Still, gossip had it that her father was very rich.

Her father flatly refused to allow her to belong to the Camp Fire Girls organization to which I belonged; and later when she asked him if she could go to Sunday school and join the girls there, she was punished for asking. Her mother seemed to have no authority, and even in the smallest things she had to ask her father's permission. If she didn't — and this practice became more and more frequent — she lived in constant fear lest he find out.³

A college woman recalls that when she was in high school her dearest friend was awakened "by an ugly Negro man standing over her bedside." Fear and even hatred toward the Negro race was aroused. This tendency was counteracted, says the college woman, by her mother's pleasant experiences with several Negroes and by her mother's spirit of racial idealism. The adverse reactions stimulated by her friend's dramatic experience proved stronger than the idealism mediated through her mother. "Despite these ideals, I feel very satisfied to have the colored man select his companions from his own people."

43. When I was a youngster — by that, I mean younger in years (you will have to judge the minute degree of mental growth for yourself), — I lived on a street where there were about ten or twelve boys about my same age. We used to play fanciful games of youth, such as "cowboy and Indian," or "war," or — oh, just any type of play in which our imagination took the place of the more conventional material background. One of the favorite games of our neighborhood was a game called "Mexicans and marines." In our imagination, we would hunt Indians and Mexicans in the bushes (forests) with sticks (guns). The Mexicans would shoot at us from ambush, and when we were captured, we would be tortured in a most horrible manner. If we wanted to

³ *Ibid.*

scare the smaller children, we would tell them that the Mexicans would get them. As I recall it, there was a fruit peddler who went around the neighborhood with a pushcart. I suppose that he was an Italian, but in our fancy he was a bomb-throwing, back-stabbing, anarchistic Mexican.⁴

Motion Pictures. — Race repulsions mediated through “villains” in motion pictures are common. As a rule no antirace propaganda may be intended, but the “villain” must be selected from some source. What is more natural than to choose him from the lower-class level of some condemned and helpless race? Such a selection, coupled with an atmosphere created for the part, is made without particular concern for the wholesale repulsive effects that are aroused in the minds of motion-picture goers. Not only is antipathy created against the villain but, most significantly, against the whole race represented by the villain. Many personal history accounts of derivative race antipathy contain references such as this: “Then I think of movies and plays where some Negro has the villain’s part. That always makes me dislike them more than ever. I saw *The Clansman* several years ago, and ever since I have been afraid of Negroes.”

44. A few years ago, the Japanese in the picture show always took a villainous part. I have never been personally acquainted with any members of the race, but have formed a dislike for them because of the little things. However, there are a few on this hill, and I have never noticed any out-of-the-way things done by them.⁵

45. A picture whose name I have forgotten comes back to me often, or rather just one part, that of the villain, a sleek, treacherous Chinese. He was employed to do the “dirty work.” A white man had been murdered, and the picture showed the Chinese with a knife going into the man’s room. Shortly after, he came out, with a villainous, bloodthirsty, satisfied look that haunts me now, ten or more years after. Then, the American, stabbed, dead, was shown.⁶

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Newspapers and Books.—Reading is a widespread source of race repulsions. Newspapers are charged with printing more “bad news” about members of every immigrant or foreign race than “good news,” and thus with contributing greatly to the distortion of public opinion. Headlines including the phrase, “Mexican bandits” or some such idea, when often repeated, give readers the impression, unintentionally, that Mexicans in general are bandits. The good that Mexicans do is not mentioned, but invariably “accounts of Mexicans stabbing each other over some trivial matter” are given space. Hence, exaggerated attention is centered on one side of Mexican life.

When a native commits a crime his race is not mentioned; but when an immigrant perpetrates a wrong, his race is announced in flaring headlines. This practice is a common occurrence, and the members of all immigrant races protest against it. Not only is the bad that immigrants do emphasized to the discredit of the good, but “bad immigrants” are not placed over against “bad natives” in proper proportion.

Novels, like motion pictures, need “villains,” and a “foreigner” is easily appropriated for this rôle. The reader dwells at length on the subtleties of the villain and transfers the evils of the villain to the villain’s race.

School histories, often in loyal support of the home nation, arouse unjust antipathies toward the people of other nations in the behavior of pupils. Only the good of the home nation is described, while both the good and the bad of other peoples are dwelt upon. Take the case, for instance, of the boy whose early lessons in geography taught him that “the Japanese was a slant-eyed Mongolian, a type entirely different from the Caucasian and a race that existed under peculiar standards of living.” His knowledge thus acquired “was prejudiced and not at all accurate as I have since

learned, although I cannot overcome the early feeling of dislike."

Often school books are quite secondary to other books. "My dislike started in the grade school when I began to study history and learned that the Turks sponsored Mohammedanism, which I have always thought of as a religion of the sword." Sometimes race antipathy is transmitted through the accessory reading that is done under the reading stimulus of school days. "When I was in high school, I think that I read more stories based on the reconstruction period in the South than at any other time, and developed then a great disgust for the Negro."

46. The Turks have probably received most of my race antipathy. As nearly as I can determine the cause of this lies in the newspaper stories about their cruel practices, the magazine stories of their customs and the history accounts of them which I learned at school. In addition to these the stories about races and peoples that are usually passed around have included only unfavorable ones for the Turks.⁷

47. The most recent antipathy that has been aroused in my nature against a people was toward the Germans. I recently read a book telling about their development of poison gas. I did not have so much hatred against them during the World War as I did after I got through reading that book. The authority of the book is said to be without question. Among many things that I could not overcome was a bitter hate when I read that, at the time the Germans signed the international compact not to use poison gas, they were in their laboratories working on poison gas and besides continued to store up any amount ready for future use.⁸

48. Mexican history is full of reasons why a *real* Mexican should not only dislike the Americans but also hate them with all the rancor and hatred of which any human being is capable.

The actual historical facts have been distorted, and only one side of the question given. The patriotic acts of our heroes have been magnified, by placing beside each of them the ignominious act, real or imaginary, of the invader. I have in mind now the taking of Chapultepec by the Americans. This episode has been

⁷ Social Distance Studies.

⁸ *Ibid.*

used by almost every writer in fiction, poetry, and drama or song in their arguments of why we should take care of the "Colossus of the North," as the American is often spoken of in Mexico and throughout South and Central America.

The daily news, and for that matter all our newspapers and journals even in this country, carry a consistent propaganda "lest we forget" that the Americans took most of what they now have from Mexico. The newspapers enlarge a great deal upon anything that may happen to a Mexican, particularly if one is hanged or is on trial for his life. In this manner they succeed in keeping to the highest pitch the dislike for the "Gringo," which, I am sorry to admit, I too shared until after years of close contact with the much-hated, but more often misrepresented Americans, I have been able to overcome.⁹

Public Speakers. — The rôle of public speakers on the lecture platform and in the pulpit in developing race antipathies is usually that of presenting a strong argument in favor of some race. In so doing, the destructive practices of at least one other race are "played up." The persecution of Christian Armenians is a common theme that serves to arouse antipathies for the Mohammedan Turks, based upon vivid descriptions of concrete occurrences.

49. During the war, I happened to hear a man lecture on the conditions in Turkey. He brought out the pitiful condition of the women and children in the country, their great need for education and religion and better living conditions. From this picture he took us to the industrial side of the Turkish people, then to the social side. The social side was appalling in every phase of its being. And the terrible part of it was that they had no desire to improve themselves.

But to me the life in the army camps was the worst, not only among the men but their ideas of life and their ideas of what their duties were. In his description or narrative, I could think of nothing worse, not even the scalping of the whites by the Indians in the early days. They, in a way, had a cause and a right for such actions in their uncivilized stage while the Turks have no excuse at all. Besides this, immorality is stronger among

⁹ Mexican Immigration Survey of the Southwest.

the Turks than any other nation on earth, according to people who have traveled through Turkey and made a study of the conditions there.¹⁰

General Hearsay and Opinion. — General hearsay, listened to in casual and miscellaneous ways, in snatches or at length, is ever at work, spreading waves of race antipathy. Gossip is one of the subtlest enemies of racial understanding. A friendly racial deed may be told once or a few times, but an unfriendly one a thousand times. The former tends to be forgotten; the latter to be repeated and exaggerated. Race aversion thus multiplies where race friendliness remains stationary or decreases.

The prejudiced person is more prone to talk than the more thoughtful and unprejudiced one. The former also speaks with greater conviction and energy than the latter. Hearsay feeds upon hearsay. One adverse racial experience delights in hearing of another. Antiracial feeling knows no self-control and is the most dynamic race-attitude medium known.

Then there is deliberate propaganda. One-sided data or misrepresentations are spread. What is often repeated receives acceptance. The public is easily deceived.

Many persons report that they have heard so much propaganda against the Japanese that they have "come to have a feeling against them." This feeling has "probably been given me by hearsay through the conversation of persons who are prejudiced, and it has succeeded in giving me a dislike for them." Or, as another person says, "The reason why the Turks, as a race, repel me is because I have heard so many awful things of them and have never heard anything good of them." Another who feels strongly against the Turk reports that he has met only one person "who had a favorable word to say."

Sooner or later this propaganda is not only accepted but

¹⁰ Social Distance Studies.

justified. Repeated impact from propaganda leads first to its acceptance and then to its deliberate support. More thoughtful persons here and there, however, begin to raise questions and may repudiate it. Although repudiating, they may still feel its effects and their attitudes continue to express it.

50. So far as I know I have never seen a Turk, and yet there is no race toward which I feel an equal antipathy. This feeling dates back to childhood — to the time when I first heard of the atrocious way in which the Turks treated the Armenian Christians. Later I read articles and pamphlets relating the harrowing experiences of the Armenians at the hands of their inveterate enemies, and in Kansas City, several years ago, I heard an Armenian woman tell of the inhuman treatment which her people continued to suffer from Turk brutality. On the other hand, I have met only one individual who had a favorable word to say of the Turks, and she was too immature to form a sound judgment, and was, I believe, basing her estimate on a limited knowledge of one representative of the race. The “unspeakable Turk” and “as cruel as a Turk” are expressions which I have heard all my life. Naturally this race has become associated in my mind with extreme cruelty and barbarousness, and just as naturally I have a feeling toward it of strong antipathy.¹¹

51. The feeling of unpleasantness and dislike that creeps over me when I think of the Turks is not the product of any intimate association with any of them, but is rather the result of propaganda sponsored by the various molders of public opinion, such as the press and the church.

This propaganda has always been directed toward the extreme cruelty, the debased morality, and the religion in whose name the acts of cruelty and immorality could be perpetrated. I cannot divorce the Turk from their persecution and slaughter of the Armenians; neither can I think of them separate from their despoiling of the beauty and chastity of innocent girls and women.

Throughout my whole life the evilness of the Turk has been thrust before me, without any presentation of any good qualities that he may possess. The pictures of the Turk with a dripping scimitar and a fiendish face have not been balanced by any picture

¹¹ *Ibid.*

presenting his virtue. The glittering cartoons of the harem and the gross immorality engendered by it have never been counteracted by the picture of real love and home.

Thus I am a victim of propaganda. A great deal of it is undoubtedly true. I believe that there is also some good, however, in the Turk. But I am just immersed by the pictures of his cruelty so that I feel unpleasant when I think of him.¹²

In brief, it may be suggested that the family is particularly effective in creating racial aversion, because it influences children in their most uncritical years when emotional habits are oftentimes taking on a lifetime nature. Associates are powerful, because they give one (or take away from one's) status from day to day. Motion pictures are influential because of their indirect subtlety coupled with high vividness. Newspapers have a widespread current influence and are easily used for propaganda purposes. Works of fiction may be very skillful in exercising the art of indirect suggestion. Public speakers possess dynamic force at the moment, using both sight and sound devices to influence. General hearsay and public opinion secure results by omnipresence and by threatening personal and group status.

PROJECTS

1. Distinguish in as many ways as you can, with illustrative materials, between direct and derivative experiences.

2. Describe the different ways in which your early life at home affected your attitudes toward the different races.

3. Give an account of some of the outstanding racial experiences of your close friends, interviewing them if necessary.

4. Choose a motion-picture film in which a foreigner is used as a villain, and analyze the various psychosocial factors involved.

5. Analyze a work of fiction in which the "bad" nature of the member or members of a foreign race plays a rôle.

6. Clip all references to "other races" from one or more newspapers daily for a month or two months, and analyze the clippings in their psychosocial significance.

¹² *Ibid.*

7. Give a complete psychosocial analysis of a speech you have heard in which some race was incriminated.

8. Compare and contrast at some length the family, associates outside of the family, motion pictures, newspaper, and general hearsay as media or conveyers of race antipathy.

MEDIA OF RACE ANTIPATHY

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CHAPTER VI

ORIGINS OF RACE FRIENDLINESS

Public attention is usually given to racial prejudice rather than to its counterpart, racial good will. But the more spectacular and melodramatic phenomena do not deserve to receive all the attention; the origins and development of racial friendliness also merit consideration. Racial antipathy, because of adverse sense impressions and racial prejudice, because of competition, do not have exact counterparts on the constructive side of the ledger. Pleasing sense impressions lead to one form or other of racial friendliness. The opposite of racial competition, or racial co-operation, does not produce the exact opposite of prejudice, but rather a rationalized form of friendliness and an organized program of helpfulness.

An attempt is made in this chapter to examine the origins of race friendliness. If the processes by which racial helpfulness have developed can be understood, then it will be possible to plan intelligently for the development of good will in a large way, instead of leaving the matter, as now, to haphazard and sporadic attempts to soften the rigors of antipathy and prejudice.

In examining the conditions under which racial friendliness is engendered, we observe certain behavior sequences. As in the case of the personal experiences that lead to racial prejudice, we again find that life patterns are paramount in explaining why some persons react in friendly ways to certain experiences while other persons do not react at all or perhaps unfavorably to the same type of experience. As in the preceding case, the life patterns at any particular

time are made up from the interaction of innate behavior tendencies, culture stimuli, and previous experience stimuli. In the immediate discussion attention will be directed to the personal experience origins of racial friendliness.

Both direct and derivative experiences arouse racial good will. Pleasing experiences or pleasing accounts of constructive race relations lead to a friendliness sequence. "Pleasing" refers to anything that furthers a person's interests or is in line with his life pattern.

In general, it may be said that the person experiencing a growth in friendly attitudes toward some race possesses certain behavior patterns (systems of neurones functioning as units, and connecting sense organs with effectors), which are "set off" or released by the appropriate stimuli. These stimuli are behavior traits of the members of different races. Since these behavior traits (objective) are discernible, while the behavior patterns (subjective) of the persons experiencing a growth in race friendliness are obscure, the former will occupy the center of attention in this discussion. The question at issue then is: What behavior traits of other races are likely to stimulate one's friendly behavior patterns? The following types of behavior traits have been isolated: (1) similar culture traits, (2) kindness and geniality traits, (3) dependability and justice traits, (4) persecution and oppression traits, (5) noncompetitive achievement traits. A careful study of the excerpts in this paper, taken from a large number of reports of the conditions under which race friendliness originates, will disclose what normally and naturally happens.

Similar Culture Traits. — Similar culture traits are bases of race friendliness. Races culturally similar have points of common understanding and grounds for the rise of fellow feeling. Next to our own races we prefer races similar to our own, because they seem to stand for about the same social values that we do. Races greatly dissimilar from

our own represent certain social values contradictory to those we hold. Further, if a person has a fondness for wit, for instance, and finds that an immigrant is likewise witty, a friendship bond not only for that person but for his race may be inaugurated.

The immigrant, however, must not be too superior in his culture traits. He must not invade our status, but must be superior in some complementary fashion to our achievements. He must not detract from us or even "threaten" to usurp our social position in any way.

A Canadian reports his increasing appreciation of the English. Since English institutions are closely similar to the Canadian, he finds little difficulty in understanding them. He is quick to notice their strong points. The English form of government is adjudged the best in the world, because in its Canadian form it works well in Canada. English heroes are great men. They have stood for principles similar to those which the Canadian ranks high.

An American of German lineage praises German culture and Germans. His father spoke German fluently and explained many German customs and practices. Some of these practices cause this American citizen to swell with pride, and others are discounted or excused. Although he was an American child in an American home and in an American environment, he had learned to understand German culture so that he found it "impossible to believe the stories of German atrocities told of the Germans during the World War."

52. I have a friendly attitude towards the Irish race. On trying to think out, as it were, the conditions under which I developed this friendly feeling toward this race, I found that it is no easy task to figure out just how and why I developed such an attitude. I think that group heritage colored my thinking on the subject and determined my attitude towards this race. Therefore, my attitude is not founded on any scientific or thinking basis.

I am a Catholic and attended Catholic schools all during my grammar and high school life. There are many Irish Catholics, and on the whole, they are very devout and practical in their religion. Their devoutness always impressed me greatly. This is one reason why I feel friendly toward the Irish.

St. Patrick's Day always had a special attraction for me. In the first place it always meant a half-holiday from school. I loved the colorfulness of it; and, above all, I loved the stories told me about it, *e. g.*, Patrick fighting the snakes for the Irish. His bravery and brilliance always had a special attraction for me. The idea, also, of the Irish people being oppressed for so long made me friendly toward them.

Irish songs have always thrilled me. There is a certain simple, lyric quality about their music and their words that I love. I think this factor influenced me in my attitude toward the Irish.

In conclusion, I will state that my racial attitude is favorable toward the Irish because, first of all, I have never had any personal or general reason to feel unfriendly toward them and many reasons, though not scientific, or studied, for liking them and feeling friendly toward them.¹

53. Personally, I have no prejudice against any race on the earth, and I have friends among many of the races. However, I suppose my most friendly attitude is toward the Scandinavian people, because I have been more in touch with them than any other. I am partly Norwegian and partly Swedish.

I have been reared in a rural community, and in this community I lived in a section which is largely composed of Danish and Swedish people. There are a few Norwegians also. Consequently, a good many of my playmates in the grade school were among the Danish and Swedish. My best girl chum is of Danish parentage, and we have been chums for some twelve years. During my high school days, I held several school offices, and I always seemed to find the students of these races so willing to help and to do their share of the work. I found the best literary talent in the whole school among the Danish girls, and I had one of them for my first assistant on the year-book staff. I also had boy friends among these races and went to parties and affairs with them. Although they were very much like all other boys I knew, I did find some distinct characteristics. First of all, I found them to be much neater in dress on the average than boys from other races. Secondly, I found them to have more regard

¹ Social Distance Studies.

for their homes. The Danish and Swedish homes are linked together much closer than the so-called American homes. They have many family reunions; and since their families are usually large, the family is the real social group. The mothers in Danish and Swedish homes are genuine housekeepers and home-makers. They all know how to sew and cook to perfection.

One of the greatest of influences toward a favorable attitude was the fact that I had two lovely neighbors, one a Danish and the other a Swedish family. As there were children in each, I was in both homes a great deal. The mother of the Danish family taught me how to crochet and to do other fancy work. The Swedish mother always had cookies for us to eat. I loved both homes and thought them ideal.

I have always found these races to be good American citizens. This settlement of which I am so familiar always turns out almost 100 per cent strong on election days. They gave liberally of their sons during the war, gave their money, and they take part in civic affairs. As a whole, they are a farming people and do not take so much part in the town affairs, but I have known several town leaders who have been Danish and Swedish. They back up school entertainments and community affairs also. They do "clique" together a great deal, but they do not seem to let their affairs interfere with the good of the community.

I admire and love the Danish and Swedish people for what they are. They have so many traits of good living which the average Americans do not have.²

Kindness and Geniality Traits. — Kindness and geniality traits arouse friendliness reactions. The immigrant or "foreigner" who is generous is doing his race a good turn and promoting inter-racial good will. Temperament figures in the origins of race friendliness. The Irish, for example, are referred to as a jovial, congenial people. Their frankness is also an asset. They have a "giving nature." Geniality arouses friendliness. If an immigrant helps a native "out of trouble," he is repaid with friendly "good turns." Every one has personal behavior patterns which are promptly released by kind deeds and by thoughtfulness.

Courtesy, politeness, and respect stimulate friendly

² *Ibid.*

responses. On this basis, for instance, Americans develop good-will attitudes toward Japanese. One American out of many reports that he has the most friendly feeling toward the Japanese, because he has never met a member of that race who has not been "most courteous, polite, and respectful," even more so than his fellow Americans are. "They all act as if it were a pleasure to them to speak to you, and they enjoy doing you a favor."

An American workman, forced, as he says, to work with Filipinos, found them to be "congenial, friendly, and always willing to lend aid." Moreover, they were quiet, reserved, and well behaved, "meeting the approval of all with whom they worked." He became a loyal friend to the race. An American woman viewed askance a family which moved into her neighborhood. The father was an American and the mother a Filipino. The mother was not socially respected; and yet much to the surprise of the American woman, the children were well-behaved and made good playmates in the neighborhood. One day Mrs. G., the American, suffered a serious cut, and the Filipino woman took charge and dressed the wound. "That simple action of kind thoughtfulness and courtesy has raised in my mind the status of the Filipino."

54. Having been born in the South and practically brought up by a "black mammy," owing to the continued illness of my mother, I suppose I have a more kindly feeling toward the Negro group than any other race group. Somehow it has always seemed to me that the attitude of the Negro has been very favorable toward my race, and I have found members of the Negro group sympathetic and coöperative. And I have not always found members of other groups as considerate as the Negro group.

My attitude may be due to my "black mammy," but even so, she isn't the only member of her race group that has influenced my judgment. However, she ministered to all my childish wants and wishes and in later years has won from me the highest degree of admiration and respect. It is to her that I owe credit for the formation of earlier habits which are governing my life today.³

³ Social Distance Studies.

55. An incident which occurred recently after I had studied Spanish, increased my admiration and friendliness toward Mexicans. I was cutting the lawn in front of our home when an aged Mexican came slowly up the hill. He seemed to be exerting all his energy just to walk. Behind him came a very unhappy-looking dog. He stopped on the walk before me and asked for water. I got the hose and started the water running. He filled his old hat, and to my surprise gave it to his dog before taking a drink himself. As the dog drank I could hear his master mumbling, "Gracias a Dios! Gracias a Dios!" (Thank God.) There was something about him that attracted me strongly, so I tried to start a conversation. He told about the goodness of his dog, and at last about the strength and eternity of Dios. His attitude, his almost primeval faith, was typical of the Mexican people, and it is a thing of great beauty. I like them because they are a good and friendly people.⁴

56. I have a very friendly feeling towards the Indians. This feeling originated when I was a very little girl, because I was born and reared in a town that was located right on an Indian reservation on the plains of South Dakota.

From the time I was old enough to understand what my mother and father talked about, I learned that the Indians there in South Dakota were a very friendly, submissive, and peaceful people. Even to this day I have a friendly feeling toward them. This feeling has been developed by many different deeds and things of kindness that they have done towards me and my people.

My father was a minister, and many times I used to ride with him to and from his country churches. I remember especially one very cold winter day. It was near sunset, and my father and I were driving with a team homeward. We were bundled up warm, but the cold wind blew in our faces. It was a sharp cold wind. We were singing as we were driving along the lonely stretch of road. We met a buggy. The road was very narrow. The other buggy turned out into the field in order that we could safely pass. When the Indians in the buggy discovered that it was my father they came over to us, asked if we had enough robes, etc., and gave us a warm "foot grate" that they had in order that we should not freeze.

The Indians used to bring wild fruit and berries that they had gathered from the near-by groves to my mother, "for the children to eat" and for her "to can." They would also bring turkeys, etc., at Thanksgiving time.

⁴ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

Sometimes, though not as a general rule, they would come to church to hear my father preach. They felt isolated because of their color and life, but would come whenever they felt "it would look all right."

When my father passed away, the Indian tribe there sent a beautiful floral cross. It was labeled "from friends." They sent delegates, as they called them, to the funeral, but not wanting to take up room of the white friends, they stood outside with hats off and bowed heads in reverence to their departed friend.

These and many other instances have developed my friendly feeling toward the brown race — the Indians.⁵

Dependability and Justice Traits. — Dependability and justice traits produce friendly responses. To find immigrants wholly reliable is surprising to most people and especially to those who have preconceived notions to the contrary. One is ordinarily suspicious of strangers and "foreigners," but to find them scrupulously honest is compelling.

The immigrant, so often exploited, is likely to develop an exploitation complex and act the part unwittingly. When his economic circumstances have been low, he has had to be penurious. He has handled small-coin money to such an extent that he has developed "small-coin" contacts with Americans accustomed to large "bills." Sometimes he has come from a "tipping economy and shirks when not treated generously." An immigrant becomes "attractive" when he acts dependably and renders as much or more service than he is paid for. To find merit where one has not been led to expect it is pleasing. Genuineness is a trait to which almost any one will respond favorably.

If a person is among strange people or in a situation where he might easily be taken advantage of in a strange part of his own city and if he is treated aboveboard and not cheated, he will experience good-will feelings. Common decency brings forth favorable responses.

⁵ Social Distance Studies.

An oppressed race is especially responsive to just treatment. The members of any race, no matter how low on the scale of development, react in a friendly way to fairness. The just dealings of William Penn with the Indians produced a harvest of undying friendliness reactions. "Higher" races also respond appreciatively to honorable treatment by "lower" races.

57. When I was a very little girl, my father had a grocery store in a small country village. Every one for several miles around there came to trade.

Among my father's very best customers was a kind, respectable, and quite well-educated Negro lady. Every Saturday when she came to trade she brought her little daughter Levina with her. Levina and I had been friends since I was two and Levina four years old. I liked her better than any of my other playmates.

One Saturday when Levina came I was out of doors for the first time after a siege of the whooping cough. Levina was very sorry for me because I could not play. We sat on the porch, watching my little pet kitten frisk about in the grass. A boy came along with his dog, and the usual thing happened. The boy sicked his dog on my little kitty. I was not able to run to its rescue, but Levina was and did. She snatched up the kitten, ran down the walk, and gave the boy one of the most severe scoldings I have ever heard. I can still see her tight little pigtails bobbing up and down, as she shook her head and stamped her foot in indignation.

I have never felt anything but friendly toward Negroes since then, and I especially like little girls with numerous pigtails.⁶

58. When I was a small boy, my father kept a general store in a rural community close to Pasadena. The county, at that time, was constructing a new road through the district, and there were about fifty Mexican laborers encamped in a little settlement about a half-mile from our store. They traded with us for most of their supplies, and my father, being possessed of considerable blind faith, gave most of the families credit, to the extent of sixty days if necessary.

Few of the Mexican boys my age could speak my language, but we played together and learned to make each other understand by means of gestures and facial manipulations. My father, unlike

⁶ *Ibid.*

most of the American fathers of the district, did not object to my playing with them, so they liked me for my seeming democracy, and naturally, I responded with friendship. They were more carefree and jubilant than American boys, and I came to enjoy their company more than that of my white playmates.

When the road was finished, they stayed to work on the Devil's Gate Dam site and as a consequence were in our district for another year. My father had come to trust them very much, and he knew them all as Jesús, or Pedro, or Jiménez, or Pablo. He told me that they were a good, devout people and that the hearsay that they were the most dishonest people on earth was not true.

In the second year of our acquaintanceship with them, a very disturbing incident occurred. Two of the most trusted families of the group left without notice, leaving unpaid bills to my father to the extent of two hundred dollars. It was a blow to all of us, both financially and from the standpoint of our faith in them. My father expected to hear from them by mail, but no news came. After a month had passed we were visited by a committee of the Mexicans. They went into a back room and had a long talk with father. When they left they were smiling and chatting together as if a good thing happened. That night my father told us that they had come to pay the unpaid bills of the other families and that, when he had refused to accept, they had insisted. That experience clinched our belief in the goodness of the Mexican people.⁷

59. Till very recently, I held the Jews in much disrespect. My view was partly supported but in the main without foundation, except as one might consider prejudice and misinformation reasonable grounds for opinion and belief. I had formed opinions concerning the Jew in the light of current antagonism as expressed by those about me. My views were incorrect as touching the part he played in the killing of Christ — a very excellent character as I thought then and now.

But after personal investigation and observing Jewish life at close range, I must confess that I am more favorably disposed and more agreeably impressed with them for many reasons, a few of which I will enumerate.

I have observed that the Jew, in contradistinction to his brother Caucasian has respect for his Negro clientèle. He opens up a grocery store in a Negro district, and a colored boy or girl

⁷ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

is given a job as clerk. A picture house is put into operation, and invariably a Negro girl sells tickets. Having a keen aptitude for making money, the Jew sees wherein a drug store will go well on a colored neighborhood corner, and immediately a Negro pharmacist is given opportunity to practice his profession, thereby earning money to set up business for himself.

This policy on the part of the Jew may proceed from a purely diplomatic purpose. He personally may not have his employee's interest at heart any more than his brother who operates the chain of exclusive stores in the loop, but it must be appraised in economic terms by the one who is employed, and so considered by all who judge his action. For after all it is better to give a man a job so that he may work than to have to give him a loaf of bread because you did not give him work.

Another phase of this policy is that it must be evaluated and placed to the credit of the Jew in terms of religion. He acts somewhat religiously (perhaps unintentionally), in that he gives the job to the Negro when he could put his own race into the position and get the same result; for the Negro has not yet learned what it is to be insulted, his "consciousness of kind" instincts are not yet fully aroused, and his race consciousness is yet sleepy.

Similar racial experiences make for sympathetic attitudes. This is shown in the philanthropic efforts of Rosenwald. Any one holding unfavorable views of a race cannot but change when he reflects on the big-heartedness of this Jew. Others give out of human sympathy; he gives out of sympathy plus racial experience.

The Jew's commercial acumen and business tact excites my admiration, and also the fact that he has shown coöperative tendencies to help the Negro in honest endeavor. Those qualities cannot be despised in any people, and they have had the effect of changing my respect and attitude toward the Jew.⁸

Persecution and Oppression Traits.—Persecution and oppression traits arouse sympathetic responses. To see other human beings suffering opens the floodgates of human sympathy. Stories of a massacre are effective stimuli to friendly and sympathetic reactions toward the victims.

If a person has ever been an immigrant himself and been

⁸ Social Distance Studies.

exploited, he is in a position to respond to the supplication of oppressed races. "The Negro," says a member of that race, "has been oppressed so long and under such a variety of conditions that he can sympathize with all oppressed peoples." Into a Negro district in Los Angeles, for instance, Mexicans and Japanese are moving without experiencing hostility and are establishing friendly relations. A fellow feeling toward the Mexicans and Japanese exists among the Negroes before the former races arrive in this district. The Mexicans and Japanese come as persecuted races and hence with favorable responses already aroused regarding them. Whatever induces a person to put himself sympathetically into the experiences of oppressed peoples and to live through their problems, longings, and disillusionments, stimulates him to take them into his own universe of discourse to identify them as being human like himself, and to excuse their racial peculiarities.

60. I stopped in a market run by a Japanese to get some fruit. The proprietor was waiting on an American lady. The incident ran like this,—the woman said, "Charley, have you any nice lettuce?" "Yes," he said, "these heads are five cents and these are seven." "Oh," said the woman, "you should sell those seven-cent heads for a nickel. I will take this one for a nickel," and picked it out of the seven-cent lot. He shrugged his shoulders and said nothing. The nicely dressed lady then asked about peaches, felt of the different grades, and then picked up a peach and bit into it, asked the various prices, then took a dime's worth, picking out the peaches and putting them into the sack. This American lady who was well dressed and appeared to have means then proceeded to pick over the tomatoes in the same way, taking a dime's worth, then the green peppers, finally buying something like twenty-two cents worth and picked out every article she bought, and then to end it, she reached over and took a couple of apricots and said, "Charley, do you mind if I give my little girl these?"

When I came home in the evening, I told this experience to my two boys and my wife at the table; and say, the boys did get the point and have on several occasions since asked if I had ever seen

any more of those "finicky" women. That experience has made me more tolerant with the Japanese.⁹

61. I have been isolated more or less from races other than my own. Toward the Mexicans I have a very friendly feeling. Although I do not understand their language and do not have the same standard of living as they, I have a friendly feeling toward them. I have been in contact with them many times and have had a chance to study their ways.

My feeling toward them has been a sympathetic superior feeling. They seem like grown-up children leading a simple life. One always has a friendly feeling toward people one wishes to help. They seem so simple and helpless. The Mexicans are very harmless if you handle them right and play upon their interests and emotions.

The Mexicans have been held back for so long that they seem to lack the ability to progress. Anything that we can do to aid them to progress, I think, will be of benefit to this country. They form a part of our working class, and society should protect and educate them.

The newspapers and other circulars have put out much propaganda against the Japanese and other foreigners, but why not against the Mexicans? There has been no need. With a little care these people are easy to get along with.

I feel that these people are now a part of our country and that we can either make or break them as we see fit. One cannot help but feel friendly toward them. Friendly feeling toward them seems to be the best way to control them.¹⁰

62. The fundamental reason for my prejudice in previous years toward the red man has been that I haven't understood him and his civilization. I remember distinctly that in the grammar grades I was taught that he was selfish and of a very suspicious nature — a man to be feared and dreaded. Too, that he was a menace, a personality within himself, with traditions incapable of assimilation in our life and development. However, because I as a child was interested in him as a wearer of beautifully colored beads and as a person very different from myself, so now I find him interesting as a character and fellow citizen. I began to wonder, to read, to inquire about him. I found that it is the Americans that are really the causes of his keeping within his shell and of his seeming distrust of us, etc. The average American has shut his

⁹ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

¹⁰ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest

door and refused to help him to better culture and civilization. He has taken his land, given him small payments and merely an opportunity to live. I feel very deeply sorry for him. I don't mean that I would be willing to eat, sleep, or drink with any Indian that comes along but there are many who have had the best possible advantages and made more of them than any of us do many times, and it is those regardless of color or creed, I now would be willing to treat as an equal in every way. True, the Indian is offered an equal chance for education, but not for advancement after he has finished.¹¹

63. Having been reared in a very religious home, where little or no conversation leading to race hatred was ever expressed, I did not, as many people, form any antagonistic feeling toward any race. However, the way a person has been reared aside, he cannot help noticing the good and bad actions of some races. When I grew older, I was always attracted to races who were experiencing unkindly treatment from more fortunate races. I suppose I felt this more keenly, being a member of a less favored race, than other races having less race hatred to deal with. Somehow I always wanted to help members of races who were experiencing any form of race oppression. Many a day I would sit and wonder just what line of work I could enter in order to be of service to fallen humanity or the delinquent of any race. Finally, I worked as a volunteer in the County Charities. This position threw me in contact with many races who were suffering, mostly from lack of a square deal, either because of low wages which were inadequate for a living wage, or because of lack of adjustment to American mode of living. In the case histories some very pathetic accounts are given which cause one to feel that more detailed study of races should be given before any sharp conclusion be drawn as to inferiority or superiority. I came to this conclusion while teaching in the S. Valley. In my school most of the students were Mexicans, chiefly of the low type. Their parents spoke little English and knew little of American modes of living. In spite of their oddities, I visited them as regularly as I did other parents of my pupils. I became interested in all their family life, the births, the deaths, and marriages of the different Mexican families. I always showed them that I was interested not only in their children but in their home life as well. Before the end of the term many of the Mexican women were able to give short talks at the Parent-Teachers Association. From

¹¹ Social Distance Studies.

these and other facts not mentioned I began to form a very kindly attitude toward the so-called low type of Mexican people. I like the Mexicans, and they like me. Parting with my Mexican friends was very pathetic and an experience I shall never forget.¹²

Noncompetitive Achievement Traits. — Noncompetitive achievement traits bring admiration, and admiration leads to friendliness. We admire, applaud, and “go out to” a person who achieves, providing his success does not detract from our status. The achievement of a few persons is credited to the whole race; and friendly feelings are engendered toward that race, providing there is no competition with one’s own race or nation involved.

In the North, friendliness toward the Negro has increased until recently. This good will centered around the progress that the Negro has been making in the South. It continued until after the Negro began to migrate north in considerable numbers. As long as the Negro progressed and remained noncompetitive as far as the North was concerned, northern good will increased. (But when the competition of the Negro was felt in the North, then friendliness began to be supplanted by prejudice.) “In such a city as Gary, therefore, there is a population which had every reason to hope that the restriction of immigration would aid in a rapid upward forcing of its wage level, but which sees in every Negro arrival the threat of undoing the economic advantage derived from the immigration laws. The Negro thus becomes an economic as well as a social threat, and the feeling against him and his progeny is the feeling against the man who takes bread and butter out of one’s mouth.”¹³ In the same way, friendship first for the Chinese and later for the Japanese grew on the Pacific Coast as long as these people were industrious and thrifty, but noncompetitive. When their numbers and success made them an economic threat,

¹² Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

¹³ Editorial, *Christian Century*, October 13, 1927.

good will toward them decreased, and ill will sprang into action.

64. My admiration for the English is great, particularly for their empire-building qualities. I think of that island upon which England is located and then of the world-embracing sway of English institutions and language, and rejoice. The solid achievements of the race brings off my hat, and excuses to me their frailties. They are not competitors of the United States so much as co-laborers, and their achievements make our own the surer. I'm for the English.¹⁴

65. I have long deplored the attitude of the South toward the Negro. When I have come in contact with a Negro, I have told him so. The rise of the Negro from slavery and his struggle against gross indignities and lynchings has fired my imagination, until I have sometimes felt that the Negro has put all other races to shame, even including the white race. The achievements of a man like Booker T. Washington have been a miracle. I did not think that anything could overcome my love for the colored race, but two months ago the property across the street was sold to a Negro, and later I received a notice from a Negro organization asking for a square deal and consideration of their wishes to live wherever they were able to buy property. This is too much for me.¹⁵

This discussion gives a clue to methods of overcoming social distance. It indicates how people in general possess personal-behavior patterns that need only to be released in order to produce friendliness. It also gives evidence that there are certain types of constructive-behavior traits that immigrants in general may manifest. These act as normal stimuli for releasing friendly patterns of action on the part of nations.

PROJECTS

1. Analyze all your experiences with the members of any race toward whom you feel distinctly friendly.

2. Put yourself in the experiences of any race which has been persecuted, and compare its reactions toward another persecuted race with its reactions toward the persecuting race.

¹⁴ Social Distance Studies.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

3. Compare similar culture traits, kindness and geniality traits, dependability and justice traits, persecution and oppression traits, and noncompetitive achievement traits in regard to their relative importance as race friendliness generators.

4. Can you name and describe any set of factors not mentioned in this chapter which leads to race friendliness?

5. Compare the factors leading to race friendliness with those that are origins of race prejudice.

6. Prepare a fifteen-minute radio talk designed to augment race friendliness.

ORIGINS OF RACE FRIENDLINESS

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CHAPTER VII

MEDIA OF RACE FRIENDLINESS

Many persons feel racially friendly toward a number of races without having had many actual contacts with representatives of these peoples. There have been few direct experiences and contacts. The existence of deep-seated racial good will, however, cannot be questioned. When this good will is traced back to its earlier sequences, a variety of derivative experiences or indirect contacts is found. Members of a person's family group, his school and church groups, for instance, have themselves experienced favorable contacts with the races in question, or have heard favorable reports, and hence give pleasing accounts. In consequence the listener gains a favorable impression and responds in friendly ways when he meets representatives of the given races. His friendly attitude elicits a similar response, which in turn stimulates the original attitude of friendliness.

The favorable reports are mediated or conveyed through many factors, chief of which are: (1) home contacts, (2) religious contacts, (3) school and college contacts, and (4) foreign travel and study contacts.

Home Contacts. — Most homes are centers where racial antipathy in some fashion or other thrives. But racial good will also finds inception in many homes. Good will toward the family's race and associated races is commonly engendered. As one travels out toward the circumference of races remotely different from the given family's race, he finds his own race friendliness attitudes diminishing. In only a few homes does one find no race aversions.

Sometimes in homes where persecution and bitter experiences have been felt, one discovers a home atmosphere favorable to all persecuted races. Sometimes in a home a single member may represent a tolerant attitude toward all races. In homes where religion (see next section) possesses a brotherhood of man hue, where the members are mutually interested in culture and race history, where catholicity of attitudes prevails, there the home atmosphere is most likely to generate race friendliness. The sympathetic study of the culture history of races leads a person to toleration and then to understanding and fellow feeling, to the judging of immigrants as persons, each on his own merits rather than as a mere member of "a despised or low-down race."

66. My father never seemed to hate any race. I do not recall that he ever said anything against any immigrants. Sometimes my mother would speak out against the Irish or the Jews, but he always sat and looked at her in wonderment. I often raised the question in my mind why father didn't agree with mother. I would start to get stirred up against some race, and then my father's calmness and bigness of spirit would check me, and I would finish up by pondering over my father's self-control. It seemed to me that somehow there was a larger viewpoint than just hating the other races. My father never spoke against a race so far as I know. He often said what he thought of certain persons, but he did not connect them with their races. I'm pretty much the same way, and I think that my father's calm assurance that there is something similar about all human nature affected me more than I know. Through his influence more than any other way did I get my present race standpoint.¹

67. I pride myself on my democratic attitude toward all races, but deserve no special credit, for I was brought up at home that way. My father was a prominent member of our little community, and although he was Scotch, he always treated the Belgian renters like human beings. They were treated as neighbors the same as anybody else. When they came to town, they were invited to our house as dinner guests. I remember hearing them tell how well they were treated and how they appreciated coming to our

¹ Social Distance Studies.

home. Other people were often mean to them, because they were not educated, or were poor, or were Catholics.

I remember that "hired girls" were treated the same way in our home, and I have always tried to do the same. I recall father saying many times that a person who is honest and hard-working and trying to get ahead is worthy of receiving the same friendly spirit that is shown any one, and he lived what he preached.²

Religion Contacts.—Religious idealism is a common source of race friendliness. The doctrine of brotherhood of man is at least a theoretically sound principle for developing racial good will. Organizations of an "interdenominational" order, such as the Young Women's and the Young Men's Christian Associations, generate race friendliness. Mission study classes conducted from ethnological and culture history viewpoints promote race understanding. Wherever religious motivation is coupled with acculturation principles, there religion functions distinctly well in building race friendliness.

College men attending Y. M. C. A. conferences describe striking experiences. The racial atmosphere is decidedly friendly. Preliminary lectures and talks have emphasized the principles of the brotherhood of man. The foreign students who come have been selected; moreover they come expecting to show themselves friendly. The constructive Christian environment is altogether favorable for helpful racial contacts. Typical of numerous accounts are the experiences of a young man at Asilomar, California, beginning with the "candle ceremony" and ending with a growing friendship with one of the foreign students who was present. The candle ceremony had as its theme the building of a world outlook; the addresses stressed race relations; the study group was led by an American who had been in goodwill work in Japan for nineteen years. Last but not least, this young man and his friends admitted into their circle

² *Ibid.*

a Chinese student. "He returned on the train with me, and our friendship has been steadily growing."

68. I lived near the beet fields in which Mexicans were employed. They were peons of the lower class and were not clean or pleasant to look on. Perhaps the long beet knives which they carried added to their formidable appearance. However, I formed an unfavorable impression of Mexicans in general.

Then I became acquainted with a few Mexicans who were customers in the store where I worked. After this I attended some mission study classes in which we studied the Latin Americans both above and below the border. From these classes a different attitude arose; an understanding of the different Latin temperament, of how one family had a piano but no chairs, and why this was so. This fuller knowledge coupled with an acquaintance with a Mexican preacher and several others of varying classes has changed my entire idea of the Mexicans. Instead of an unpleasant lot, I now see a human people with the same hopes, fears, and ambitions as our own and with a deep desire to become educated and to better their status.³

69. My home is in the very heart of the raisin district of California, in the central part of the San Joaquin Valley. In that section, as in many others of our state, every little town, not to mention the cities, has its "Jap town." In my childhood experiences, "raisins" and the "Jap town" held a very large place. Oriental labor, as a large factor in that soul-trying, heart-breaking round of hard labor and uncertainty that is the raisin industry, has made me well acquainted with, if not a part of, the problem known as the "Japanese problem in California." Also, the echoes of the Russo-Japanese War impressed upon me the idea of a superior being, against whom nothing nor no one might prevail.

But early in my school days I began to feel some of the unreasonableness of the more unthinking and unbridled animosity of the whites toward the Japanese. I soon saw some of the faults of the whites in dealing with them, some of their bold inconsistencies; and so came to occupy a sort of neutral position, which, had I been asked to characterize, I should have called a desire to see "fair play." In strict honesty I must say that, since being able to form my own judgments to any extent at all, I have not been able to hold any violent prejudice against any race.

³ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

But to get to the heart of my story. About two years ago or a little more, the missionary forces of my church started a Japanese mission in the "Jap town" of my home town. Through my more or less active church work I soon became — I might say automatically — interested in this mission. I was prevailed upon to take a class of boys and young men. I did so, and found myself taking a deep interest, though I had to speak through an interpreter. Changes in the labor situation caused the disbanding of this class, and I took over a group of older grammar-school and younger high-school students. At about the same time I assumed the superintendency of the Sunday school. I have not time to give a detailed account of my association with those people, common hard-working folk all. But let it suffice for me to say that I have yet to find kinder, better-hearted, more considerate, or open-hearted and friendly folk than this little group, a part of the "yellow peril."⁴

School and College Contacts. — College and university life affords young people of other races opportunities of meeting under favorable conditions. Personal friendships lead to racial good will. The question may be raised, of course, as to how deeply fixed this good will becomes in college and how long it remains after a person's college days are ended. A college training, however, if one "majors" in the social sciences and takes work in social anthropology, race psychology, and immigration, affords a breadth of view that is favorable to the inception of race friendliness.

Knowledge of one or two high-class, dependable members of another race leads to favorable conclusions toward the entire race. This is an interesting start toward, but not a substantial ground upon which to construct enduring race attitudes of good will.

The college atmosphere is likely to be idealistic. The environmental controls are alive with tendencies fostering good will on broad, theoretical grounds. Behavior patterns favoring a widening outlook on life are inaugurated.

Instead of meeting immigrants of the least developed and

⁴ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

narrowest types, the college student in his daily contacts meets immigrants (students) on their higher, plastic, active-minded, "cultured" levels. Race friendliness thus is more "natural." A college student reports that he now has a very different feeling for practically all the races of a color different from his own, because of his experiences in college in meeting members of intelligent young men and women of the various races and because of his study of the music, art, and religion of these races in the social-science courses. "All these factors have led me to a more tolerant attitude and a more sympathetic understanding."

A discriminating young woman states that previous to her college days she had received the impression that the Chinese were dirty, dishonest, and two-faced. In college she met some Chinese girls and found that they did not conform to her preconceived notions. In fact, these contacts led her "to think that as a race the Chinese are very worthy." One of these Chinese girls acquired a fluent and correct use of the English language in an incredibly short time, which created "a very favorable impression." Moreover, "she really had a keen sense of humor." Many interesting conversations followed concerning the social, economic, and political problems of the Chinese, which resulted in a keen interest in the Chinese.

A series of racial discussion meetings now being conducted under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A. of the University of Southern California illustrates a technique for developing racial friendliness that has both religious and college backgrounds. The general secretary of the Y. W. C. A. selects, for example, two American college women of breadth of view and frankness and two Japanese college women of similar training. The four are invited to the home of the secretary for informal dinner and to remain afterwards for a conversation in front of the fireplace, at which mutual racial impressions are discussed. For instance, one of the

American girls will lead off with a frank statement of her impressions of the Japanese race as a whole. Then a Japanese girl follows with a description of her impressions of Americans as a people. And so on. Personal experiences and hearsay reports, true and false statements alike are examined. At times, the discussion grows excited and, again, subsides into mutual regrets for human misdeeds. The secretary raises a question now and then or relates a portion of her own racial experience. One experience leads to the recital of another by another member of the group. Thus the discussion goes on. Another topic is announced for the next meeting, such as: "What do my friends think of your race?" As a result of a series of meetings of this type, racial understanding, sympathy, and good will are multiplied. At the same time, another series of discussion conferences is being held by two white girls and two Negro girls with the Y. W. C. A. secretary in charge. Still other racial combinations as bases for discussion meetings are planned. In this way widespread discussions of a constructive nature are fostered.

70. Before I came to the university I had really never known any Jews, at least not those of the best type. In high school and junior college I knew one girl, a Jew, who was the joke of all my friends. Her personality was far from pleasing. I tried to get better acquainted with her and to persuade her to come to Y meetings, but, the better I knew her the less I liked her, till finally I gave up in disgust.

There was also a Jewish boy in junior college, who, like the girl, was the butt of every one. His personality was not quite so disagreeable, but he rather lacked in gray matter and was always doing ridiculous things. Moreover, I noticed several times that he cheated in exams. I believe I judged the whole Jewish race by this girl and fellow, and by unpleasant stories I had heard about Jews.

After I came to the university I met a number of lovely Jewish girls at the Y, girls with high ideals and pleasing personalities. My prejudice against their race began to fade. I met one or two

Jewish fellows who impressed me with their fine character and keen intellect. I find that my prejudice now has almost disappeared.

An article I read on the Jews and their social isolation made a big impression on me. I realized as never before how remarkable the Jews have been to keep their distinctive characteristics.

When I entered the university a colored girl came and took the seat next to me. All I noticed was that she was colored, and I decided to take another seat the next day.

When I went to my next class, which was in sociology, the professor took up the question of race prejudice. The next day when the colored girl came and sat beside me, I looked at her. She had a very pleasant, smiling face and I, perhaps in an effort to assure myself that I was not prejudiced, talked to her. Several weeks passed by; we exchanged books, and I decided that I rather liked having her sit next to me.

Within the first month after the semester had started, I was invited to the home of some friends for luncheon; the man was a professor at one of the universities, with a Ph.D.; the wife was a graduate of an eastern university. They both represented the highest type of intellectually active people. The table was set for four. I wondered who the other guest was, since I saw no one else there. Dinner was served, or rather luncheon, and to my surprise my colored girl who sat next to me in class took the fourth place. She worked for my hosts after university classes. I don't suppose my hosts will ever know how the first few bites of food almost choked me, but I am quite certain now that I will not move away or even want to if a colored person eats at my table, or sits next to me.⁵

71. There is one thing of inestimable value that language study has done for me. It justifies whatever time and study I may have put upon it. The study of Spanish, in other words, has given me as no other thing has, a new viewpoint on Mexico. Before such study my ideas of Mexicans were chiefly drawn from the people who dig ditches and repair our car tracks. Through a Spanish organization I was drafted into the work of making a program characteristically Mexican for the purpose of advertising the real Mexico and not the Mexico as people think it is. The program when finally finished consisted of a two-act play, several dances, a skit from a *Zarzuela*, a musical comedy, and some songs by a quartet in costume.

⁵ Social Distance Studies.

It was during rehearsals that my long-held prejudices against these people vanished. I have never worked with people who are so inventive, clever, and willing. The much-mentioned Latin temperament did not rise up half so readily as the American temper. On the part of the men there was politeness, chivalry, and fascination. I learned to know several of the charming people of Mexico City who were here for one reason or another, and I found that they were just as delightful as any one could wish. They seemed to go out of their way to be nice to me. This was true whether they were the Castilian type or the *Mestizo*, mostly Indian, type. I came to love them dearly, and I also learned through the medium of their language that they were as full of high principles and deep purposes as any of my countrymen. There was always on their part an expressed wish for conciliation and understanding. It is a shame that we don't meet them half way and that we confine our ideas to what we see up and down our railroad tracks and in the poorer parts of our city.⁶

Foreign Travel and Study Contacts. — Travel brings a cosmopolitan attitude to many people, providing they are already open-minded and interested in cultural diffusion as well as in scientific assimilation. Otherwise, travel easily brings an increase of race antipathy. Travel that covers the historic spots, art centers, or that seeks business gain leads frequently to increase of race antipathy, but travel that seeks out people and strives to know their circumstances and their culture history commonly arouses friendliness.

Exchange of students between countries, student parties traveling in foreign countries, international houses such as the splendidly equipped International House in New York City — all these foster racial understanding. Apropos of this theme, an "international college" might be proposed where native students would be limited to 25 per cent of the total, where fellowships for other countries would bring together at least four students from each of the nations of the world, with the larger nations contributing substantial quotas.

⁶ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

72. During the past ten years, my impressions and sentiments of England and the English have been completely changed. At the age of seven I was so prejudiced against the English that I would not play checkers with red checkers, because the British soldiers had worn red coats in the American Revolution. I cannot imagine any one having any more bitterness and hatred toward a race than I had. This was probably because I had already commenced to read stories of the Revolution, had heard lots of them, and acquired the idea that all things English were products of the devil. When I started to school, my opinions were strengthened by stories of the persecution of the Puritans and finally the war against the mother country. History was presented in a way to make the pupils think that everything we did was all right, completely just with the direct sanction of God, and that everything some other nation did was inspired from the opposite source. Now I cannot sufficiently condemn this detestable practice of filling children's minds with lies. It is meant to produce patriots, but often produces bigots.

Further, my impressions may have been influenced to some extent by older people (none too well educated or broad-minded) with whom I came in contact and who had had unfavorable experiences with a poor type of English immigrant or tourist.

When the World War began, my sympathies were all with Germany, as it seemed a good opportunity to overthrow England and "punish the wicked nobles and king" that I pictured in my perverted imagination.

About 1915 a French-Italian-Swiss schoolmate began to change my opinions. This precocious youth explained as well as he could the issues at stake, and gradually I came to see right on the allied side. By reflection England came to seem less and less a bad country. Then association with English people gradually dispelled my bitterness and hatred, and I came to love England next to my own country. It seemed that the "English kids" I played with were decent chaps, played square, were clean and very little different from what I thought Americans to be, except in accent. As I grew older and read and observed, I lost practically all my prejudice.

Then in 1921 I had an opportunity of going to England for three years study. If an Englishman cared enough for Anglo-American friendship to provide for one hundred American scholars to be in residence at Oxford all the time, surely I owed it to

justice to judge his race fairly and to throw overboard prejudice in coming to a final decision. "Hands across the sea," "English-speaking university," "Anglo-Saxon coöperation," etc., were being much talked of just after the war. I would go and live among them and see for myself. And so I went to England.

From the first I felt very much at home and easily fell into harmony in my new surroundings. An American should never feel like a foreigner in England—he isn't treated nor considered as such. They still think of us as one of the family of British nations and take great pride in our accomplishments, for they started us on our course and gave us our language, law, and most of what is best in our literature, religion, and tradition. I found that I was never thought of as a foreigner—that a person from Los Angeles, seven thousand miles away, is considered "one of us" more than a person from Paris three hundred and eighty-five miles away. Thus differences are ironed out and disappear. One comes to feel his Americanism less poignantly and to acquire sympathy for the English-speaking world. From this there is only a step to Christian fellow feeling and on that may be built world citizenship.

As I progressed in the study of English history, literature, and traditions, my prejudice changed to open-mindedness and then to sympathy and love. This process was helped along by relations with the people with whom I came in contact. They were cordial to me and went out of their way to make me feel at home in their country. British coldness was exploded. I observed that no one cheated and that high standards of action prevailed among my associates in business and conversation. Surely they could not be as bad as the history books made out. No underhand trickery was condoned in games of any kind, and this made a strong appeal. Their common sense was a wonderful thing. The humblest seemed able to weigh values. A man could execute the king in Hyde Park without going to jail. People tolerated it because there must be a few crooks in every society, and no harm would come of it anyway. Things were done just as needed. No high-flown phrases and theories were worked out to take care of cases that never arose. Courtesy from my servant, from my tutor, from the policeman, postman, in fact from every one with whom I had dealings impressed me that the English had evolved the art of social life further than we have. The respect of all for excellence struck me forcefully. The scholar there emulates the learned professor; the general run of people look up to a university man.

The accomplished and well-born command respect even without money!

Three years of these impressions quietly playing on my mind changed me from feeling friendly toward England to becoming more than generous, even devoted. I came to understand that to know all is to pardon all, to understand all is to sympathize with all.

I believe racial prejudice disappears with the growth of mutual experience and am more firmly convinced than ever that our future depends on our public school system where this mutual background is possible.⁷

The home atmosphere early influences children to express either favorable or unfavorable racial attitudes, because of the uncritical ability of children. They accept generalities without much question. Where the home is tolerant racially, the children respond similarly. Religious idealism is often coupled with a tolerant home atmosphere. It is effective because of its broad swing and frequent remoteness from direct racial contacts. School and college experiences are significant because of the constructive atmosphere and of the opportunities for making contacts with fine types of young people of many races. Travel and study that provide opportunities for natural life conditions generally result in broad racial reactions. Culture studies and university-directed conferences regarding inter-racial relations produce racial tolerance and good will.

PROJECTS

1. Compare the conditions when "the home atmosphere" is likely to be conducive to racial friendliness and when conducive to racial antipathy.

2. Account in as many ways as you can for race intolerance and prejudice on the part of many religious people who profess a brotherhood-of-man principle.

3. Work out a set of procedures for insuring the permanency of racial good will based on contacts made in college.

⁷ Social Distance Studies.

4. Outline a plan whereby sympathetic travel and study abroad might be greatly expanded.

5. Compare home atmosphere, religious idealism, school and college contacts, and travel and study abroad regarding their relative merits in furthering racial good will.

6. Develop a plot for a scenario or a work of fiction in which racial good will is indirectly furthered.

7. Compare the media of race friendliness with the media of race antipathy.

MEDIA OF RACE FRIENDLINESS

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CHAPTER VIII

CHANGES IN RACIAL ATTITUDES

All the racial attitudes of some persons and some racial attitudes of many persons are in a state of flux. In addition to the origins of racial antipathy and friendliness that have already been considered, there are changes continually taking place in racial aversion and attraction. These changes are, of course, origins also — secondary origins, as distinguished from the original or primary origins.

At least two main types of changes in racial attitudes may be observed: (1) augmentations and (2) reversals. This chapter will consider augmentations or the conditions under which a person's racial antipathy and his racial friendliness are increased. The following chapter will deal with reversals of both unfavorable and favorable racial attitudes.

Although augmentations naturally fall into increases in antipathy and increases in good will, they represent one major psychosocial process: namely, the fixation of behavior patterns already initiated. The experiencing of more contacts direct or indirect, favorable or unfavorable, of the kind already experienced is the essence of the story. The conditions under which this process functions may vary. Antipathy growth occurs in connection with social explosions; good will growth implies the dissolving of conflicts and the solving of race problems. The latter is often gradual, quiet, and unassuming; the former, loud-mouthed and easily excitable.

Augmentations of Racial Antipathy. — A further examination of the racial attitude data presented in previous

chapters shows that Americans experience increases in racial antipathy toward the same races, with slight exceptions, that figure in the origins of antipathy. Antipathy, in other words, is easily accumulative. It feeds partly on itself, and flourishes easily. Once started, it acquires a momentum that is difficult to halt.

Table V indicates changes in racial attitudes of 508 of the 1725 native Americans, certain of whose racial attitudes have already been noted in Tables I to IV. Of the total 1725, materials relating to changes in attitudes were asked from 524. Replies from 16 of these were confused and uncertain in meaning, and hence eliminated, leaving a total of 508. The racial descent of these persons is given in the first column of Table V. The points at which racial antipathy and racial attraction occur are noted in the next two columns respectively. Some races are high in both these two categories, for instance: Armenians, Chinese, French, Germans, Hindus, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Mexicans, Negroes, and Russians. The races ranking noticeably higher in the "antipathy increase column" than in the "friendliness increase column" are: Germans, Greeks, Hindus, Jews, Mexicans, Russians, and most of all, Turks. Races ranking higher in "friendliness increase column" than in the "antipathy increase column" are Armenians, Chinese, Czecho-Slovaks, Danes, Dutch, and so on, down the list.

Table VI gives an arrangement in a descending order of the races most extensively the victims of increasing antipathy. The predominance of non-Europeans will be noted. War propaganda accounts in the main for the increasing unfavorable reactions that were experienced by Americans against the Germans; while postwar reports of French militarism and French bitterness toward America relative to the noncancellation of war debts explain the adverse changes in attitudes toward the French.

TABLE V

CHANGES IN RACIAL ATTITUDES OF 508 NATIVE AMERICANS IN A
5- TO A 10-YEAR PERIOD

	<i>Racial Descent</i>	<i>Less Favorable</i>	<i>More Favorable</i>	<i>Balance in Either Direction</i>
Armenians	2	28	46	18
Bulgarians	1	3	3	0
Canadians	15	2	30	28
Chinese	3	47	75	28
Czecho-Slovaks	2	0	32	32
Danes	3	0	18	18
Dutch	42	0	15	15
English	251	6	12	6
Filipinos	1	3	28	25
Finns	0	3	20	17
French	72	17	45	28
French-Canadian	1	1	2	1
Germans	88	58	51	7
Greeks	2	36	7	29
Hindus	1	25	14	11
Indians (American)	2	2	29	27
Irish	62	5	9	4
Italians	9	33	32	1
Japanese	4	93	86	7
Jew, German	32	65	34	31
Jew, Russian	22	66	29	37
Koreans	1	4	11	7
Magyars	3	2	2	0
Mexicans	1	53	41	12
Mulattoes	44	8	8	0
Negroes	38	67	77	10
Norwegians	7	0	20	20
Portuguese	1	6	3	3
Poles	2	3	14	11
Roumanians	0	3	4	1
Russians	2	36	23	13
Serbo-Croatians	1	2	5	3
Scotch	104	0	11	11
Scotch-Irish	82	0	2	2
Spanish	5	7	40	33
Syrians	0	3	7	4
Swedish	14	4	33	29
Turks	0	63	7	56
Welsh	24	1	4	3

TABLE VI

FIVE HUNDRED AND EIGHT AMERICANS REPORTING INCREASES
IN ANTIPATHY, ACCORDING TO RACES, ARRANGED
IN A DESCENDING ORDER

<i>Against</i>	<i>Num- bers</i>	<i>Percent- age</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>Num- bers</i>	<i>Percent- age</i>
Japanese	93	18.3	Greeks	36	7.0
Negroes	67	13.2	Russians	36	7.0
Jew, Russian ...	66	12.9	Irish	33	6.5
Jew, German ...	65	12.9	Italians	33	6.5
Turks	63	12.4	Armenians	28	5.5
Germans	58	11.9	Hindus	25	4.9
Mexican	53	10.4	French	17	3.3
Chinese.	47	9.2	Mulattoes	8	1.5

In Table V, column 4 is given the adverse and the favorable balances, that is, the deficits of surpluses represented by comparing the numbers of more favorable changes with the less favorable changes concerning the respective races. The deficits in favorable changes will be considered first; the surpluses will then be taken up.

Table VII gives the highest numbers in the adverse balances. The *relative* adverse changes are somewhat different from the *absolute* changes given in Table VI. The Turk moves up from fifth in the "absolute" list to first place here, the Negro and the Chinese disappear, the Germans and Russians do not change, the Japanese drop from first to ninth, the Greeks move up from tenth to fifth, and the Hindus from fourteenth — and so on.

TABLE VII

ADVERSE BALANCES OF INCREASED ANTIPATHY OVER INCREASED
FRIENDLINESS REACTIONS AS REPORTED BY 508 AMERICANS

<i>Races</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Races</i>	<i>Nos.</i>
Turk	56	Mexican	12
Jew, Russian	37	Hindu	12
Jew, German	31	Germans	7
Greeks	29	Japanese	7
Russian	13	Portuguese	3

An increase in a person's antipathy for the members of some race is usually due to factors similar to those that bring about his adverse reactions in the first place. A repetition of these factors easily augments antipathy. Repeated contacts with any of the more important unfavorable traits of a race cause a rise in the antipathy temperature.

In addition, moreover, there are distinctive ways in which race antipathy becomes definitely augmented. Two of these tendencies may be noted.

(1) Often a person's increased racial antipathy is due to definite rationalization upon and even brooding over certain of his adverse race relations. In this way he may build up an effective antirace fixation. Through repeated conversation or speeches against a race, a person may "work up" an increased antipathy unintentionally. He may engage so completely in a given antirace propaganda movement that he multiplies his own antipathies and becomes unable to "see" any but the adverse phases of a given race's nature. Favorable data are habitually underrated or overlooked.

73. As to a race that I constantly feel less friendly toward, I would cite the Turk. The Turk is the only person I would not admit into our country, allow to visit, or to have any contact with anybody or any country I hold decent or respectable. This is not race prejudice, because it isn't the fact that he is a Turk, but because of what he stands for, of what his history has proved him to be, and because of the great harm he has done and persists in doing. Were he of any other race, I would judge him likewise. I have personally come in contact with Turks, and with overwhelming numbers of the followers of Mahomet. I know their Koran. I know from personal contact that their philosophy, their ambitions, their education, their social standards, their customs, their view of life, and all the rest are hopelessly "rotten"—there is no other word for them. I have come in contact with many Armenians, talked with them, as well as with missionaries who know the situation; and there is nothing in the world's

history that represents any evil quite as bad as the Mohammedan Turk. There are exceptions, I know, but we are judging from the overwhelming majority. When you understand Mohammedanism first-hand and realize it to be by far the worst religion in all the world, and then get acquainted with the Turk and find him the worst specimen of humanity, then stick these two worst things together. You have a combination which can't be surpassed for evil; and that is why I think the very presence of a Turk, not because he is a Turk, but because of his character, would pollute the very atmosphere of our country. The more I learn about him the worse is my impression of him. He is indeed the "sick man of Europe." I am very sorry for him, and would like to help him, were it possible.¹

(2) Often when a person moves to a new geographic region (a point to be treated more fully in a later chapter), an antipathy that he has acquired earlier will be magnified. Either he comes in contact suddenly or competitively with a race which he has known only casually before, or else he may become neighbor to a race which is experiencing a larger degree of freedom than previously. Under the larger freedom it may go to an extreme of obtrusiveness, and thus arouse a greater prejudice in the American newcomer than he experienced against that race in his previous habitat. This new freedom may be used by members of an oppressed race to invade the status of the American "recently arrived" from some other part of the United States, where such invasion would be prohibited by the mores.

74. Most of my life has been spent in the South, and it is only natural that I should be prejudiced against colored people to a certain extent. I have always been friendly toward colored people and have treated them kindly, because southern Negroes know their place.

In the South there are restrictions against colored people which do not exist here. These restrictions are necessary, and I believe that they should be promoted here. White people are not on the same level with colored people and should not be compelled

¹ Social Distance Studies.

to be associated with them. I do not believe that they should attend the same schools, churches, and social gatherings.

Where colored people are allowed the same privileges as white people, they oftentimes make themselves very offensive, take advantage of, and abuse these privileges.

When a colored person sits down by me on the street car, I move. This is habit. A few months ago a colored girl came to the house where I am staying and ate lunch in our dining room. As this was my first experience of that kind, I was shocked and became very indignant.

I do not believe in being rude, but I believe in keeping them in their place. This habit is one that I have developed so strongly that my enforced association with them here makes me more unfriendly than before.²

Increases in Race Friendliness.—Increases in race friendliness have already been noted in column 3 of Table V. An examination of Table VIII, made up from Table V, reinforces the observation already made in this chapter that the races toward which there is the greatest growth of race friendliness in the United States are also in the main the races toward which there is also the greatest growth of race antagonism. Japanese, Negroes, Chinese, Germans, and Mexicans not only head the antipathy column but also are the races toward which friendliness has grown most—a surprising observation. Public opinion has been focused on the antipathy facts but has entirely neglected the friendliness developments. “Race haters” are often loud in their denunciations, angry and dogmatic in their assertions, and reap the benefits of headline publicity in the metropolitan press. A candidate for United States senator emotionally declaring that the country’s gates shall be closed to all Orientals “brings down the house” in tumultuous and violent, almost “hatred applause,” but who has heard of a senatorial candidate strongly urging oriental friendliness? The “race befrienders” secure a very limited hearing in the press, but the pulpit is usually open to them.

² *Ibid.*

Inter-racial good will is also being promoted by radio-broadcasted speeches.

In referring back to Table V, it will be observed that the 508 Americans report 924 cases of increased degree of race friendliness to 729 cases of increased race antipathy. Since these reactions were recorded without signing names, there is no reason to believe that the reports of race antipathy were deliberately minimized for fear of arousing charges of narrowness and intolerance. On the other hand, most persons are less aware of the "friendly changes" in race attitudes than of the antipathetic ones, and thus the friendly changes recorded in column 3, Table V, and in Table VIII are doubtlessly smaller than the figures actually imply.

TABLE VIII

FIVE HUNDRED AND EIGHT AMERICANS REPORTING INCREASES IN
FRIENDLINESS, ACCORDING TO RACES, ARRANGED
IN A DESCENDING ORDER

<i>Toward</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Toward</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Japanese	86	16.9	Swedish	33	6.5
Negroes	77	15.1	Czecho-Slovaks ..	32	6.3
Chinese	75	14.7	Italians	32	6.3
Mexicans	53	10.4	Canadians	30	5.9
Germans	51	10.0	Indians (Amer.) .	29	5.8
Armenians	46	9.0	Jew, Russian	29	5.8
French	45	8.8	Filipinos	28	5.5
Spanish	40	7.8	Russians	25	4.9
Jew, German ...	34	6.7	Norwegians	20	3.9

According to Table IX, giving the excess of increase in friendliness changes over the increase in antipathy changes as reported by 508 Americans, the Chinese alone of the races against which antagonism is most often expressed survive the comparison. They alone appear on the positive side of the ledger with a surplus of friendliness reactions experienced toward them by Americans. They are not "competitors" or "invaders" today; their numbers in this

country have been decreasing; hence, the psychological advantage is theirs, and good will toward them is on the gain. The other races appearing in the favorable balance list of friendliness reactions are all "noncompetitors" in American life, such as the Spanish, Indians, and Dutch.

TABLE IX

FAVORABLE BALANCES OF INCREASED FRIENDLINESS OVER INCREASED
ANTIPATHY REACTIONS AS REPORTED BY 508 AMERICANS

<i>Races</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Races</i>	<i>Nos.</i>
Spanish	33	Filipinos	25
Czecho-Slovaks	32	Norwegians	20
Swedish	29	Canadians	18
French	28	Danes	18
Chinese	28	Finns	17
Indians (American) ..	27	Dutch	15

The life-history materials at hand indicate that growth in racial good will is due chiefly to "repeated favorable experiences." And "favorable," in the last analysis, means anything that promotes one's own status.

The unconsciously gradual nature of the growth of race friendliness makes its study difficult. Persons are unaware of this growth until some person or event brings the change to their attention. Thus, there are few outstanding experiences in their minds. The existence, the wide extent, and the importance of the growth of racial good will, however, are all demonstrable facts.

Variations in Speed.—The time element varies in race attitude changes. One may suddenly develop race antipathy; a single adverse experience involving bodily harm is sufficient. Race friendliness involves the overcoming of defense reactions—defenses against the strange, the different, the unknown, the uncertain. It is natural that in this connection a person should change slowly. After they have once gained momentum, it is also natural that both race antipathy and race friendliness should develop rapidly,

unless inhibiting experiences occur. In general, it may be concluded, however, that race antipathy develops recklessly and race friendliness, with caution.

Summary. — There are two main phases and three main stages in racial antipathy and racial friendliness phenomena: (1) the cultural, and (2) the biological phases; and (1) the originating, (2) the augmentation, and (3) the modification stages. The two phases will be summarized first; and then, the three phases.

(1) A narrow or broad ethnological background, an intolerant or liberal training in a person's primary groups is the background of racial antipathy or racial good will. A hard and practical or an idealistic, humanitarian, and a socio-religious cultural heritage accounts in part for the rise of antipathy or friendliness.

(2) Persons vary temperamentally. Some develop more introvertive or extrovertive tendencies than others. Some are more easily stimulated to adopt suspicious attitudes than others, or to be humanly and hence racially responsive.

(1) The first stage begins with unfavorable or favorable experiences, either direct or by hearsay, which crystallize racial attitudes and "fixate" them in either repulsive or attractive settings. To the extent that a person's racial contacts hamper or further his basic wishes and his status, he is likely to respond in aversive or friendly ways.

(2) Augmentation of ill will or good will usually occurs upon the repetition of either destructive or constructive racial experiences. A second or third unfavorable, or favorable, experience naturally follows the behavior patterns already inaugurated.

(3) Both antipathy and friendliness may cool off, subside, and even be subject to reversal. This theme remains to be examined. It is in these reversals that the most significant phases of racial attitudes come to the surface.

PROJECTS

1. If you have ever experienced a great increase in antipathy or friendliness toward any race, give a detailed description.
2. Choose a race antipathy and a racial good will attitude that you may have, and describe any changes in rate of development that has taken place in either.
3. Compare in as many ways as you can augmentations of race antipathy and of race friendliness.
4. Outline a practical program for definitely increasing the total amount of race friendliness in your community.
5. Give a full description and analysis of any mutation of race attitude that you have experienced, or that some one whom you have met has experienced.
6. Analyze the mutation of a racial attitude.

CHANGES IN RACE ATTITUDES

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CHAPTER IX

REVERSALS OF RACE ATTITUDES

Reversals of race attitudes are even more interesting than augmentations of either antipathy or friendliness. As representing major types of changes that occur in race attitudes, reversals are of two classes: changes (1) from friendly to antipathetic and (2) from antipathetic to friendly. The latter occur less frequently than the former. They constitute a more "difficult" process, for antipathetic behavior patterns are ordinarily better fixated by emotional reactions. The change from antipathetic to friendly attitudes usually requires a time element. Mutations or sudden changes are rare. The shift from friendly to unfriendly attitudes, however, may be sudden.

The most common type of reversal is the change from derivatively (hearsay) friendly to directly antipathetic. A hazy indefinite friendliness based on general impressions may be suddenly changed to antipathy by a single adverse experience. Another noteworthy reversal type is the change from derivatively (hearsay) antipathetic to directly friendly. "Bad impressions" of a race may be corrected in due season by direct contacts with worthy representatives of immigrant races. In both these forms of reversals, the changes start from derivative or hearsay experiences. When direct personal experiences have become "fixed," reversals do not often occur.

Reversals afford an excellent field for the study of both the origins and media of race attitudes, both antipathetic and friendly. The original or primary beginnings of race attitudes are often obscured in the multitude of happenings of

early childhood and of youth, but the secondary or reversal beginnings may occur in adult years and under more easily observable conditions. Reversals are more dramatic, are subject to personal attention, and hence are especially interesting to study.

Sudden Reversals from Friendly to Antipathetic Attitudes.—The mutations from friendly to antipathetic race attitudes not infrequently involve a general derivative background of favorable reports concerning some race, and a single dramatic set of direct and personal experience with one or more members of the given race. Sometimes the mutation is brought about by a regional change; that is, as indicated in another connection, a person moves from a region where somewhat favorable ideas are held toward a certain race to a region where low-type and obtrusive members of that race are in evidence. Sometimes no change in region is involved. Immigrants of low-culture traits move in, with the result that even idealistic natives become hateful. The old story is repeated: Status has been invaded. Sometimes a public leader or perhaps a friend, gives expression to startlingly disturbing accounts of a race concerning which none but favorable accounts have been current. The account is often that of a long-distance (geographic) view being supplanted by face-to-face accounts. The latter imply a lowering of one's status. In general, it may be said that the stimuli which function to arouse race antipathy gradually, as described in preceding chapters, also function when operating suddenly to effect mutations.

An American business man states that formerly he believed that Jews were unjustly criticized and treated. He saw no reason to dislike the race. He concluded that many people are prejudiced because it is the thing to do. All the Jews whom he had known were pleasant and agreeable. In fact, his first playmate was a Jewish boy. "But lately," he reports, "the Jews I have met have disgusted me — the

things which they do, their manners, are repulsive." As a result he has turned against the whole race, although he admits that it is unfair to judge a group by a few individuals, "but it is natural to do so." He tries to forget his dislike, but when "I am near them I can't help looking for certain traits, and discovering them."

75. I have a distinctly less favorable impression of the Negro race than I had five years ago. As a child, I believed that Negroes were downtrodden and didn't have their proper opportunities.

My opinion soon changed when my contacts became closer. I like to think that perhaps I have met only the worst, but at the same time, my opinion applies to the whole race.

Several families moved into my neighborhood, and they promptly began to assert themselves in a manner decidedly not neighborly. Rapidly the Negro population increased, and vice crept in. The whole district—but recently a respectable neighborhood—became a regular red light district with bootleggers thrown in for good measure. Because none of the Negro people that I knew were good citizens, I do not approve of them.

I have also worked in a clinic. The larger number of Negro patients have venereal diseases. They are very shiftless and do not take any interest in their own welfare.¹

76. During my freshman year in high school, a series of race riots took place between the Negroes and the whites. This was in Chicago where the colored population is quite large on account of the industries. Up to that time, I had been rather friendly with some Negroes at school and did not feel any social distance between us, since I had never had any reason to. My home was not far from the Negro settlement; and when the riots began, the Negroes were forced to remain out of school. I continued to go to school and did not pay much attention to the upheaval.

Then one night just after dark I was sitting on the front porch with some children of the neighborhood when a crowd of people came running along the street and yelling. They were after a Negro who was just a few feet ahead of them. By the time they had reached the corner, the Negro was taken, and I could hear his cries in a prairie not far away. I began to sympathize with the Negroes and to read the papers. Of course, the papers did

¹ Social Distance Studies.

not speak well about them; but, nevertheless, I decided that the riots were one-sided.

My attitude was suddenly and violently changed in about three days. My best friend and playmate was attacked by a Negro when she was returning home from the store one evening. A crowd captured him and lynched him. I felt as if she could never be revenged enough and must admit that I was delighted when I heard that the attacker had been hanged on a telegraph pole until the police removed him the next day.

Now I can talk and associate with Negroes, but I feel a wave of distrust go over me, and I cannot sympathize with the poor of that race. I can never give to a Negro cause, and I feel they are inferior to me.²

Sudden Reversals from Antipathetic to Friendly Attitudes. — While genuine mutations from antipathetic to friendly attitudes are rare, there are numerous cases of near-mutations. Direct personal experiences are the common factors. Even these, however, need to be repeated in order that the near-mutations may become permanent.

(A sudden widening of the daily experiences of life, if accompanied by favorable racial contacts, may result in reversals. Here and there, along the pathway of life, occur events which shake up one's behavior patterns, give one "a great light," and lead to personality reorganization.)

Even war, despite its usual tendency to produce race hatred suddenly, may break down prejudices within the limits of "allies," and develop a camaraderie among races, which are culturally wide apart, even antagonistic. The permanency of this camaraderie may even be assured by "fighting together" for "a good cause," for a long period of time.

A sense of humor expressed on the moment may be a "reversing" factor, providing it is revealed by a person with other personality traits that are "likeable" to the one who already feels antipathetic. A woman who had had

² *Ibid.*

an interview with the department manager of a large corporation was about to be accepted when the manager suddenly inquired concerning her nationality, and she replied that she was an American. "No, I mean, are you Jewish or Gentile?" She looked at him and demanded, "Are you a Catholic or Protestant?" Being good-natured, he laughed and explained, "Please don't be angry. You see we are directed to employ Gentiles in preference to a Jew whenever possible, but I like you; and *even though you are a Jew*, I will accept you."

77. My early training at home included among other things the cultivation of a respectful attitude toward all races, all nations, and all religions, and as a result my opinion of the Poles as a race held no thoughts of malice or prejudice of any type. In addition, having been early interested in music, my attention was focused to a great extent upon a leader in this field, Mr. A., a Pole. Besides being a great musician, Mr. A. was also considered a leader in political thinking, which in his case took the form of race prejudice. During the last five or six years, having been much concerned with the history of the world in general, and in particular with that phase of human history dealing with racial and religious problems, my attention was directed to the inhuman pogroms taking place in southern Europe. No crimes of barbarous peoples in the early ages were in any way more atrocious than the extremely cruel and inhuman treatment accorded the Jews in Poland. There was not the faintest trace of justice of any kind, and murdering became the chief method of giving vent to primitive prejudice.

Curiously enough, Mr. A., a majestic power in the musical field, became a leader in his own country in a totally different world of thought. The object of reverence and respect of millions, he turned upon a group of his admirers with a vitriolic prejudice fatal in its effect, and I have turned against him. By means of his broadly acclaimed leadership in one field, he manages to incite his people to atrocious acts and inhuman treatment by appealing to a primitive emotion — hate.

It has been said that a race or a nation should not be judged by one individual of that race; but when this one individual has demonstrated in so clear a fashion the blind ignorance of his

mind and has so easily become a leader of his people in so unrighteous a cause as that of race prejudice, then I say I feel more than perfectly justified in looking down upon the race he represents.³

An unexpected kindness in time of personal stress and loss rendered by one member of a disliked race may be sufficient to bring about a near-mutation. One man reports that during his high-school days he had a strong antipathetic feeling toward the Chinese and the Japanese, who were then pigeon-holed in his vocabulary as "Chinks" and "Skibbies." His brother died in the navy in 1920, and the body was returned home for burial. "I observed that, when the last call was sounded at my brother's funeral, it was an oriental sailor who blew 'taps,' and I was told that my brother referred to Orientals as his 'little brown brothers.' This incident may be recorded as the starting point in my change of attitudes."

A farmer learned as a small boy to look upon Norwegians as "a cold, gruff, and brutal people." The family had had a Norwegian cook for several months, and "still I was in deathly fear of her cold, calm look." But one night the other members of the family had gone out for the evening, and he remained to play with the neighbor children. In the midst of the fun, he fell and broke his ankle, and was carried home to be welcomed by no one but Nina, the cook. He cried from pain and fear, but "Nina, with all possible tenderness, comforted me and told me stories just like mother always did." All the time that he was an invalid, "Nina was so kind and thoughtful each day that I came to realize more and more that underneath her coldness was warmth. Because of this episode, my feeling toward all Norwegians changed."

78. The Turk, in a vain effort to subject Armenia to the religion of Mahomet, has inflicted on her massacres with all the

³ *Ibid.*

blood-accompanying features and artistically nasty details that cunning brains could devise.

As an adolescent girl, I drank in these ideas with avidity. The Turk to me was the devil personified. Consequently when I heard that we were to sell a house we owned to a member of that execrable race, I was horrified. The day the deal was to be concluded, I awaited his arrival with fear and trembling. He proved to be a short, stout, kindly-looking gentleman about my father's age. His wife was one of the most beautiful women I have ever seen. He had a sense of humor and proved that he knew just how to treat a girl of ten or twelve. He had a fascinating store filled with beautiful articles, and his chief line was oriental rugs. We spent a lovely time examining and hearing about them. He admitted the faults of his race, but he himself showed what education and Americanization can do. He is now one of my most delightful and valued friends.

Now why was I taught to fear and hate without knowing that there is another side to the question? There are good people as well as bad in every nation. I was taught all the bad and the good was entirely ignored. Maybe this man is one of the best of his race. I don't know. But this I do know, that never will I teach hatred of any nation and emphasize the bad to the exclusion of the good. It seems to me that this is a blindness unworthy of any American and a Christian people.⁴

79. In 1914, when the war broke out, I was in college preparing to become a teacher. Until then, I held of foreigners the ideas generally fostered by caricaturists. For instance, that all true Englishmen must have long teeth and long feet and wear strange attire, that Americans must have gold teeth and flash diamonds on all fingers, that Germans must be very stout, wear spectacles, and generally have dreadful table manners, and so on.

The war came, and soon my country became a land of many tongues — Britishers, Scots, Welsh and Irishmen, Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians, Belgians, both the Flemish and the Walloons, Italians, Portuguese, Poles, Russians, Nipponese, Chinese coolies, Brazilians, Hindus, as we called the Indians of India, our black men from Africa, our yellow men from Indo-China, even Germans and Austrians in the shape of prisoners, later on the Americans with their own black men and their Indians. I am forgetting the Serbians and Rumanians and the French. We rubbed elbows in the streets, in the shops, in the restaurants, in

⁴ *Ibid.*

the theaters. It soon was an oddity to hear French spoken at all. I became more or less acquainted with all these peoples, and I learned to think of them as my equals. I lost sense of my narrow-minded provincialism. Of course, I had a great opportunity to become acquainted with them. I was a teacher in a little town on the main road to the front at about sixty miles from Amiens; and as I could speak English, I often was being mustered as interpreter. There were several camps of different foreign armies near by. Besides, my parents lived in the center of a British Royal Air Force camp, and our home was home to all the boys. Of all these foreigners, I came to know the Anglo-Saxons best of all, and learned to like them very much. Perhaps it is because I felt akin to them, owing to my Celtic ancestry. I do not know. Perhaps it is because, understanding their language, I was able to share in their thoughts and their feelings. Anyway, the truth is that to this day, I like all Anglo-Saxons, some better than some of my countrymen. I liked and still like them so well that I married one of them in preference to a Frenchman, and I am not sorry yet that I did so, so much so that I could come to this country and work out my happiness here.⁵

Gradual Reversals from Antipathy to Friendliness.—Many cases of attitudinal change reveal considerable rationalization and a recognition that previously held views were narrow and on the whole ill-founded. These gradual changes may frequently be definitely distinguished from mutations involving serious emotional disturbances. Dislike due to ignorance gives way to admiration due to education. Childhood training has often meant inculcation of prejudice, but later, direct experiences with friendly members of another race bring about a shift from repulsion to attraction. A broad educational and ethnological training and tolerant religious teachings function similarly. As in the case of the origins of racial good will, so in the reversals in the same direction, the contacts afforded in college life and by idealistic religious life are especially potent. Changes under these conditions are subject, however, to reversals back to antipathy, when college and

⁵ *Ibid.*

church influences decline and unpleasant race experiences multiply.

Many times gradual reversals occur entirely in the field of derivative experience. In early years of life, a person forms adverse race opinions, according to the prevailing social stimuli. Later he begins to read and think for himself and learns particularly of the misconceptions which he has held toward a given race. A broad cultural knowledge may supplant narrow hearsay prejudices, with a gradual reversal in race attitudes as the result. A person reports that he once conceived of the Chinese as "undesirable" and that this conception was gained almost entirely from propaganda in regard to Chinese coolies competing with American labor. He then had the privilege of making the acquaintance of several Chinese men and a few Chinese women, and says: "I must confess that it would be hard to find a finer type of manhood anywhere than some of these people represent. While it must be admitted that they are probably of the best class, yet my association with them has been sufficient to remove the prejudice that I once had toward that race."

A person ten years ago thought of the Jewish race "in a very intolerant manner" and only in terms of people who were "the murderers of Christ" and money lenders such as Shylock. He was so prejudiced against the Jews that he did not deem it possible for them "to be highly moral or even respectable." Then came a change in experiences. He met several Jewish university students whom he came to include in his list of friends. In the study of history he discovered that Judaism was the cradle of Christianity. "Could it be possible, I reasoned, that these despised Jews had contributed something to the traditions that were sacred to me? Gradually, then, I had to acknowledge that if I was a sincere seeker after the full truth, I must realize how narrow, prejudiced, and intolerant I had been. But

contacts with members of that race and study about their institutions have changed my point of view."

Another person who lived near a colony of Scandinavians of the peasant class, uneducated and crude, who did not try to learn English and whose children were seldom sent to school, reports that he never liked to be around them or to talk to them. Then he moved to another part of the United States and became acquainted with a well educated family containing daughters, all of whom he "liked very much." When he discovered that these people were Norwegians, he let his earlier impressions of the race influence him, and he no longer visited with them or, as he says, "I tried to, but their friendship was so interesting and desirable that my early prejudices were overcome. We are the best of friends, and I think very highly of Scandinavians."

Recalling her childhood days, an American woman states she once considered the entire Mexican people as being dirty and illiterate, because the first Mexicans she knew were "slovenly, ambitionless, and lazy." In high school, however, she had a Mexican woman for her teacher in Spanish. This woman was energetic, quick, witty, and neat. A visit to her home located in an old house in the Mexican district was enlightening. "I don't believe that I have ever seen any home cleaner than that one." Contacts with another Mexican woman who was a teacher revealed her as well versed in culture history. "She knew practically everything about the history, literature, and language of the Germans, Spaniards, Italians, French, and Mexicans." While she was not so neat or as mentally quick as the first teacher, she not only read and wrote five languages well, but also spoke them. The contacts with these two women, and with a few others like them, supplemented by extensive reading on Mexico, have been the means of changing a personal antipathy to friendliness. An

acquaintance with the hardships under which the Mexicans labor "made me first to sympathize with them and then to love them."

Even prejudices which have been taught a child deliberately over a period of time may be supplanted by friendly attitudes. An ex-soldier recalls that as a boy he was taught to resent the very existence of all foreigners, including the Russians, "Dagoes," and Orientals. Whenever he showed himself at all friendly toward a member of any of these races, he was "ostracized" by his parents and playmates. But the crumbling of his prejudices began as a result of reading books. In connection with an Italian under trial locally, he wrote his first drama. For a year he worked on this play and read extensively about Italian life, history, courts. Secretly, he found romance in the Italians. Later, his overseas experiences gave him an open admiration for the race. "Three Italians completed my conversion."

80. Formerly, my entire family was much prejudiced against the Japanese. I had been told about their immorality, their gambling, their desire to dominate this western coast, their detriment to the farmer because of low living standards and long hours of labor for the entire family. When any one mentioned restricted immigration, the suggestion was endorsed most heartily.

Great was the dismay of all when it was announced that a Japanese had leased forty acres of ground across from us. At once we spoke of selling, etc., etc.

A quiet Japanese family of four moved into a hut erected at the extreme corner of the land. We were grateful for the location. Few words were exchanged for months. Application was made for irrigation water.

My mother became interested in the two children, who were, indeed, good little folks. She gave them fruit and cookies and other things which they did not have. Finally, when milk was engaged, they came for it daily.

In all his business contacts, the Japanese was thoroughly businesslike and considerate. He always paid before a bill could be sent, and on several occasions he was refunded the overpayment.

Exchanges of fruits and vegetables were made, and my mother

seemed especially happy to send over a surprise when she noticed that their working hours had been particularly long because they wanted to plant a special crop.

When the children were ill and assistance was offered and visits made, the couple seemed almost overcome. Gradually, more English was acquired and little hurried chats took place. Now and then, when emergencies arose, my brothers took the man to places in the machine, and their gratitude seemed unbounded.

It is true that in farming every one works long hours, usually for seven days a week. The labor is very tiresome — stooping and working in wet ground. However, sometimes whole fields of grown lettuce or cabbage must be plowed under because of market manipulation, although at the very time city people are paying enormous prices for those very commodities because of a limited supply. This is most discouraging after months of labor and expense.

As neighbors they are quiet, orderly people that mind their own business and yet are most kindly, reliable, and helpful.

Other Japanese came into the neighborhood and as much could be said for them. When the land agitation occurred and leases expired, foreigners of other races came who are not nearly such good neighbors. They are more selfish and have poorer principles. Our entire family has overcome a prejudice for the Japanese through direct contact extending over a period of years.⁶

81. Having from my early childhood lived here in C., where the prejudice against the Negro is not as great as it is in some parts of the country, I feel that I was not influenced against them so much by current opinion as I was by my own experiences with the Negro children that attended my own and a neighboring school. There were not a large number of Negroes at my school, but at the neighboring school a few blocks away they were almost in excess of the whites.

All through grammar school and intermediate, my experiences with the Negro children were unpleasant, ranging from gang battles on the street to classroom warfare. Only on one or two occasions did I find myself agreeably impressed with a colored boy or girl. There were two colored children in particular that I could finally come to admire. They were related to each other, were well mannered, bright, and were both good singers. On several occasions they distinguished themselves and won my

⁶ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

rather reluctant admiration. This was the only exception to my general dislike of the colored race upon leaving high school.

I lost track of these former classmates shortly after I entered high school; and it was not until recently, after several other happenings had changed my former viewpoint, that I again came into contact with one of them. From a feeling of resentment that I should have to live in the same world with them, I have come to regard the Negro as a capable, interesting, and useful citizen, worthy to become an integral part of our nation. My first experiences that helped to change my viewpoint happened at S. B., where there are quite a few Negroes in attendance. In one of my classes, a physical education class, I was paired off with a Negro girl of rather unpleasant appearance. Not wanting to raise an objection, I resigned myself to the idea of having her for a partner and was therefore agreeably surprised to find that my partner was one of the quickest and most skillful athletes in the class, and that, instead of her being a hindrance to my progress, I was the one usually at fault when we were beaten. A feeling of elation at our final winning, and the high score was no doubt responsible for the cordiality of my manner toward the girl the rest of the semester and the basis for the friendly intercourse we had in a later class.

In another field also I found a Negro to be my equal, if not my superior. In a class in story writing and literary criticism, a colored girl was one of the brightest and most talented members of the class. We spent many periods preparing our stories, and her criticisms and suggestions were of great value and aid to me. It was after several other similar experiences that I again met the Negro girl of my grammar-school acquaintance, and I was not at all surprised to find her an accomplished musician, a book-keeper, and an accredited pharmacist. She was well known in musical circles in our city and is drawing a large salary at her trade of pharmacy. We had a long talk and found many points of common interest. She had attended college and had gone to several other schools, including a musical conservatory and a business college. She is now working in a drug store and fills prescriptions, attends entirely to the business end of a busy branch post office located in the store, and is teaching music at night and in her spare time. She is charming and well educated and has introduced me to several of her friends who are also of a high type of Negro.

These instances that I have quoted represent Negroes of a new

type that are coming more and more into prominence, led by Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, and other Negro leaders of recent years.⁷

82. I feel much more friendly now toward the Japanese than I did twelve years ago. Twelve years ago I was on the mission field and visited in Japan. I heard some reports about the trickiness, insincerity, and troublesomeness of this race from the very lips of missionaries and others who knew the Japanese very well. For instance, I was told of a certain missionary who was traveling through Japan. She had purchased a ticket which was supposed to take her to a certain destination. On the way she changed her mind, for very necessary reasons, and decided to stop off a few stations before she reached her intended destination. This she did, and went immediately to the house of a missionary friend. It was about nine o'clock at night. She was ill and prepared to go to bed. Ten minutes after her arrival at this friend's house, however, the place was surrounded by police who banged upon the door in a most unceremonious way, demanding that the last arrival, the white woman, be brought to them. The missionary replied that her friend was sick and that she was unable to see them until early morning, when she would take the next train to her destination. The Japanese officers replied that she would not be allowed to stop over until the next train—that her ticket read through to such and such a place and that she had no right to stop off, under any conditions, buying of a new ticket, or anything—and that she would have to spend the time in the police station until the early morning train. The sick woman tried to get a little rest, but it was impossible, although her missionary friend endeavored to convince the officers that everything was all right.

They kept up the pounding through the night and were not satisfied until they had put the white woman on the train that was to take her to her destination. They could not understand why she could possibly want to stop anywhere short of that place, and they would receive no explanations of any kind.

Again, when we landed in various Japanese ports, they were very discourteous in their examinations of all on board, before they would allow any Americans to land. We might have understood the first instance cited, if it had been during the war, but it was not. It was just their way of doing things. Then, again, in coming to California, we heard all kinds of terrible stories

⁷ Social Distance Studies.

about Japanese, how they had poisoned a certain woman who would not lease land to them, etc. I have had Japanese gardeners treat me rudely and lie to me, and I knew they were lying, just for their own convenience, rather than put up a few vegetable plants that were in plain sight. They had more important engagements, so told me they did not have the plants. I should have stated that in going through China we heard all the time about the faithfulness and honesty of the Chinese, but only of the dishonesty of the Japanese. Even the Japanese themselves will not trust their own people in banks, etc., but, rather, put in the honest Chinese. Of course, in China no one would trust the Japanese, so we were told. Then again, in Japan, I was at first rather shocked because the Japanese would not get up in a street car that was crowded and offer me a seat. I was often the only woman in a car, yet they all let me stand. All these things brought about a general dislike for the nation as a whole, although I adored picturesque Japan.

As to the change of attitude which I now possess, this came about when I really began to know the Japanese, when they began to open up their hearts to me and tell me of their difficulties, seeing that I was naturally sympathetic, regardless of race. I was interested in going around on case studies, visiting Japanese homes here. I began to get into the very inside of this much misunderstood race and to see their side of the situation. When I understood the terrible way the Japanese were being treated here in California, I was very sorry for them, and began to bear with them their cruel treatment, to feel ashamed of my own race, and to realize that in many respects the Japanese were ahead of us. As I began to understand their customs and manners, I saw that I had misunderstood them.

I could give dozens of examples, but one will be enough. Perhaps you know a Japanese laughs when we would cry. He will tell you of the death of his son, the most terrible tragedy that could befall him, in a laughing manner. He laughs when things hurt him most or are most serious. This custom we think almost as incongruous as that of the Chinese wearing white as a mourning color while we wear black. I think the great bulk of ill-feeling between races is just that lack of understanding of the point of view of each. As I have visited and gotten acquainted with the Japanese, I see how superior they are to us in the many ways in which they are often thought to be inferior, judged by those who do not know them. I wish my home were as clean,

my children as neat and courteous and well-trained as those of the Japanese in whose homes I have visited. I can say the same of the Hindu homes in the city. In the Japanese Christian churches, in the schools, in the debating societies, in contests, the Japanese excel. The teachers in the schools invariably declare that the Japanese are their best students. In the university I have some Japanese friends. They are much more informed, more interesting, and better company than many of the American students. This can also be said of the Chinese and other oriental students. I would like to be as well equipped as they when it comes to brains. The Japanese, I believe, is the coming race of power in the world. They cannot be kept down. The Americans tried to keep them out of the best schools in Hawaii, setting a very high English test for entrance. This only spurred the Japanese on to greater work. They specialized, particularly in English, and passed the entrance tests above the Americans. They are bound to have the best along all lines.

I have no race prejudice as such, I believe. The question of marriage with oriental races or with mulattoes is a matter of logic — of expediency rather than race prejudice. I have seen the results in the Orient of marriage between, say the Indian and the white, in which we get the Eurasian, a useless, weak, degraded product — neither one thing nor the other, only the weaknesses of both races. That is not so true of the Chinese and the white as it is in most of the other cases.⁸

A study of these materials gives an idea of the actual ways in which reversals, both from friendly to antipathetic, and from antipathetic to friendly, both sudden and gradual, take place. By examining these, procedures may be devised for preventing unnecessary losses of racial good will, and for transforming prejudice into friendliness. The impact of a series of favorable contacts, providing there is not too much deep-seated prejudice to be overcome, and providing there are no intervening adverse experiences, usually brings about a reversal. It is wise, therefore, to exercise control over as many conditions as possible under which racial contacts occur.

⁸ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

PROJECTS

1. Choose any reversal of attitude (preferably a race attitude) that you have experienced, and describe the factors accompanying the change.
2. Compare the reversals from antipathetic to friendly, and from friendly to antipathetic, in as many different ways as possible.
3. Compare sudden reversals with gradual reversals from as many different angles as you can.
4. Work out an educational program for either an urban or a rural neighborhood whereby reversals from unfriendly to friendly attitudes may be effected on the part of natives toward immigrants.
5. Compare the full meaning and process of mutation of a racial attitude with the mutation of any other type of attitude.
6. Write a short story in which there are at least two reversals of race attitudes.

REVERSALS IN ATTITUDES

- BRANDENBURG, B., *Imported Americans*, Chap. XX. Stokes, 1903.
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- LIPSKY, A., "The Political Mind of Foreign-born Americans," *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 85, pp. 393-403.
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CHAPTER X

COUNTER-ATTITUDES

Racial attitudes are not always simple reactions to repulsive or attractive stimuli. They are often counter-reactions to other racial attitudes. This development of racial attitudes illustrates circular responses. One aggravation or imagined aggravation leads to another *ad infinitum*.

A newly arrived immigrant may act cautiously, because of the strangeness of the "new" social environment. He may respond slowly, if at all, to advances made to him. But his caution may be charged by the natives as backwardness or even stupidity, and in consequence he may be viewed as a curiosity. He is ignored or else made fun of. In turn, he senses the meaning of the furtive glances at him, withdraws further "within himself," and acts more strangely than previously. The natives withdraw, and social distance both ways increases. He cannot now seek their acquaintance without such a move being charged against him, and they cannot approach him without being regarded with supreme suspicion.

Segregation. — In a distinctly different way, the situation of the Negro in the United States illustrates the operation of counter-race attitudes. He prefers segregation and yet fears it. White people segregate the Negro, but in so doing accord him a lower status. The Negro wishes to work out "his own salvation" in his own way and with his own people. He does not wish "favors" from the white race; but in accepting segregation, he finds that it does not give him full status, and thus is obnoxious. He does not wish assimilation with white people lest that should mean the

passing of his race. He is not happy in segregation, for the label of partial status is unbearable. He is struggling up from low cultural levels to higher levels, but with the loss of his race facing him on the one hand, and with denial of full status, on the other. All people are willing to fight for status, and so the Negro is moving not only into segregation, but also into a fighting mood. The conflict of attitudes is well illustrated by the Negro who states the situation as follows:

83. Although I'm an American-born Negro, I do not want to belong to any groups other than those of my own race. The Negro does not want intermarriage with any other group but his own race. Where he has deliberately violated this rule, he is ostracized from his own race. All he wants is a real, equal opportunity to vote, education, and recognition in economic, literary, and other ways, according to his ability—in other words—status. When he does something worth while, he wants to be considered just as good as a white man who does well.¹

The Jew often finds himself in a complicated situation. He strives to get ahead, but in so doing arouses adverse attitudes against him. He reacts against these, thereby displaying his worst nature. Still more antipathy against him is aroused, and the race situation changes from bad to intolerable. He easily becomes the victim of circular-response situations. The antipathy generally expressed against Russian Jews, says a German Jew, is credited to their habit of not assimilating. But this failure is accounted for by the rebuffs which they receive when they attempt to mix with Americans. The latter think of them as being dirty, radical, and disagreeable; of the German Jews as being too forward, of both as thinking too much of themselves and as being characterized by bickering and littleness. Hence, their attempts toward assimilating are not welcomed. Thus the chasm widens and widens. Adverse impressions

¹ Social Distance Studies.

on the part of both Americans and Jews lead to new adverse reactions. The process acquires a momentum hard to stop and turn back.

The mulatto, likewise, is often hopelessly confused. If born out of wedlock, he bears the stigma that usually belongs to one or both of his parents. If his father be a white man, he never knows advice or care from his own father. His mother, often uneducated, gives him limited training in a deficient environment. Often he has the appearance of a white person, but he has been brought up in the Negro's culture. He may have a white man's temperament but live in a colored man's environment—a situation that is baffling. If he secures an education and aspires to success in the white man's world, he is halted at the door of the professions, if not sooner.

He is ignored, and status is denied him no matter how earnestly he may wish to "make good." He reacts against both the colored and the white man's worlds but cannot establish a world of his own.

White Negroes.—Unique counter-attitudes are experienced by the "white Negroes," who in order to maintain status play the role of white persons in the white man's environment.² The following illustrations relate to only one side of this situation. Only those individuals who hold their racial identity as Negroes could be approached by the interviewer. A study of those clinging to their white blood would be revealing, but very difficult. Because of the consequences which would naturally follow any self-admitted black blood in those who have severed any relations with it, information would be almost impossible to obtain. Interesting situations are revealed in the following illustrations.

² The illustrative materials used here have been obtained by Juanita Ellsworth, a social-research interviewer from the University of Southern California.

Miss A., who is a young college graduate, became a teacher in — school where there are many little Spanish children. "Soon after my appointment, the principal came into the room one day and asked me to interpret the conversation of two of these children. I declared my ignorance of the Spanish language and the principal was surprised. Turning to me, she said, "Aren't you Spanish?" "No," I replied, "What are you, then?" she asked. I told her, and she looked as though she were astounded. A few hours later I was summoned to the office and requested to resign. She said that a terrible mistake had been made as I had been mistaken for Spanish. You can see that the disadvantage of my acknowledging my race is only too obvious. However, on the other hand, I could never have been happy there had I been forced into deception."

Miss B. is head girl in a large and responsible business concern. When she secured the position, no question about her race was asked, and she vouchsafed none. When asked why, she replied, "Do you honestly believe I could have gotten that position or any decent one if it were known what I am? I'd likely be offered a maid's job. As it is I am paid the highest salary and given more authority than any girl in the office. My attitude toward my associates there is restrained. Sometimes I am inclined to be bitter when I reflect that the girls who profess the deepest devotion would turn in a minute if they knew of my one-eighth black blood. I never accept any of the office hospitality. I offer the subterfuge that my mother's illness prevents my entertaining and that I can't accept hospitality of others when I can't reciprocate. The idea of my cutting loose from my race is even more preposterous to me than abandoning my family. I'd work as black any time if I were given the same opportunities and advantages."

Dr. C., who has associated almost strictly with white students during his college days, explains his actions as

follows: "It didn't take me long to realize that if I was going to have any fun — really — I'd have to forget any black ancestry I had. Too, in my associations here I wasn't always being depressed by any possibilities of insults and discriminations. Negro students don't get anything out of white colleges but work and pity. My passing as white was intentional and deliberate, and I'd do it over again. The advantages were my unhampered participation in activities and human treatment I received. Of course, I couldn't really leave my race permanently, because I have too many fond remembrances. When I get ready to marry, I'll pick out a girl just like myself, not that I adore a light girl more than others but because, when we go to shows and travel, we can do so without any discrimination."

Mrs. D., a young woman who has just recently married, stated that in working prior to her marriage she had never any unpleasant or unusual experiences. "The most appalling thing that ever happened to me, however," she stated, "occurred at the time of my marriage. When my intended husband and I appeared at the license bureau to secure our marriage license, they told me white women weren't allowed to marry Negroes in this state. My husband became furious, and it was only after heated words and witnesses that my statement was accepted. Too, when my husband and I go out, the curious attention that we attract makes my husband disgusted. You can see, then, that my color, although an advantage when I used it to 'get by' has proved rather a nuisance to me since. I sometimes feel inclined to wear a sign 'I am a Negro,' so that my husband won't be the recipient of such hostile glances from every white man that notices us."

Miss E., who is a young girl so very white that the keenest of examination cannot reveal any trace of Negro features, complains of her experiences in a manner similar to the above. "My color has been an awful nuisance to me." She

explains, "Frequently when I was in school various teachers reprimanded me for becoming so intimate with little colored children. One sent a note home to my mother stating my unnatural attraction for little black girls. Once a white man threatened to slap my little brother for daring to pull a white girl's hair. And right now, what advantage is my color aside from theaters and tea rooms? You girls are asked or invited out by young men who wouldn't think of taking me any place because they are afraid they will be embarrassed because I look like white. I sometimes wonder, if I crossed over, if my troubles would be over. I couldn't do that, though, because everybody that I love is on this side. No, I've never deceived any one. I've never had occasion to. Those whom my color deceive I usually enlighten, to their horror."

Miss F., who worked with both men and women in a large store, said that they never suspected she was colored — they'd have died, she said, if they thought I even knew any colored persons. They ridiculed every Negro that passed the store. "Sometimes it used to fill me with unholy glee to hear them condemn all Negroes after having lavished such flattering attentions upon me. Sometimes their remarks would make my blood boil. I left there primarily because I was tired of them. Too, they were a much lower type of people than I was accustomed to meeting in my own group. I'd much rather work in an office in our own group if I could, because I might lose my temper sometime."

Miss G. says that she doesn't know whether she is or has been "passing" or not. "They never asked me what I was, and I never told them. I like the girls I'm working with very much, though. They are a fine group. It has been an advantage to me to be able to work here, because I have had an opportunity of knowing and studying them in a different way than I could otherwise. There is a certain culture that representative white people have that I admire

— not enough to give up my own race for, but, nevertheless, I have more faith in them and less skepticism as a result of my contacts.”

Mr. H., who is a mechanic, said that he had never hidden the fact that he was colored, although his appearance could easily have allowed him to do so. “I always have been treated well. Most of the fellows think that my fairness gives me a distinction that my darker brothers lack. It has meant that I could go where I wanted, and I guess that counts. The most unpleasant experience I had happened not so long ago. The workmen from a rival shop complained to the owner of the restaurant where most of the fellows in our neighborhood lunch that he was allowing a Negro to eat at his place. The man politely informed me and asked if I’d mind coming to the back in order to keep from hurting his business. I hold my racial consciousness above any material gain. Never could I forget my parents for a job or a few extra privileges.”

Mr. I., another young man with a very influential position, states that he is going to resign shortly. “The strain in keeping up this deception is terrible. I know I’ll not have the salary, but I’ll have peace. I never go out with a colored person without being in mortal fear that some of my business associates will see me. On the other hand, I can’t go out with some of my business associates without fear of meeting some of my own people. The most cruel experience I’ve had was the occasion when I was compelled to walk by my brother and his wife because she showed undoubtable signs of being a Negro. I can never get away from even the little black blood that’s in me — sometimes I wish I could. I know I can’t, so I’m going to quit even this pretense soon.”

Miss J., who is a student at a prominent dancing academy, reports: “I guess I deceived my coworkers until I ‘got in’ with them. There had never been any question raised

about me until finally some one saw me out one evening with a colored boy. Of course, then, when I was asked about it I admitted my own race. They were surprised, but not as much as I was when they continued to treat me nicely. I really expected to have been snubbed when they found out about me. Of course, if I had had brown skin, I probably would never have had the opportunity to make such interesting and cordial friendships. The girls have occasionally wanted to sympathize with me, saying, 'It must be awfully hard on you. Why you're as white as we are!' I said, 'Oh, I don't know — I've never had many serious difficulties.' I sometimes think I am more fortunate than my dark sister whose color prevents her even getting the chance of making good that I have. I've always lived with and mingled with my own people. Whether or not I could do differently is a question I've never analyzed. Others do. Maybe if the circumstances were different and my racial ties less permanent, I might, too — but really I don't know."

These Negroes, whether immigrant or not, have "countered" successfully in an environment which puts a premium upon being white and a reproach upon being colored. Nearly all the persons who have crossed the color line, as indicated in the cases cited, have done so because of the economic opportunities afforded thereby. The crossing of the color line, says the interviewer, was not due to a dissatisfaction with the Negro group, but to a desire for the advantages open to white persons and closed to colored persons.

Second Generation. — Another type of social situation where race attitudes become highly complicated is illustrated by the American-born Chinese and Japanese in the United States. By education in the schools and by other means, they become American to a surprising degree. But in adolescence and early maturity they find themselves the

victims of adverse social and occupational stimuli. Their ripening American responses are checked and turned back by ostracism.

But when their attention returns to things oriental, they discover that they are out of touch with oriental life, that they do not know the native tongue of the "old country" well, that they have become separated in thought and feeling from the older generation, and that they cannot return to the old life. They have responded favorably to an environment that refuses to receive them fully and have lost touch with the old environment. They are people without a country through no fault of their own. Conflicts disorganize them; race attitudes are hopelessly tangled.

84. Not long ago I met a Japanese boy who was reared in America and who did not pay attention to his race. He played and associated with American boys. Then suddenly one day he found he was being discriminated against. He became conscious that he was not allowed to associate freely with the other white boys. While thoroughly Americanized, he was isolated from American contacts by race. He decided to go to Japan. Upon arriving in Japan, where he supposed he would feel at home, he was as isolated as in America. Their customs and habits were as strange to him as they were to other Americans. He returned to America to lead a life of isolation. He was a man without a country, cut off from America by race and from Japan by custom.³

85. We are neither Americans nor Japanese. The Americans will not receive us into their group; we cannot go back to the life on the plantations. If we went back to Japan, conditions there would be so different that we would feel like aliens. We are urged by American teachers to go on to college, but often we find that we would have been far happier without an American education. Why are we urged to go on to school when we are never placed on an equal basis with Americans? The color line is not drawn at your colleges. We are permitted to attend your schools and donate our money to help build better social institutions. Why are we not good enough to belong to them? We, the second gen-

³ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

eration, who by virtue of our birth are American citizens, why are we considered alien Orientals? ⁴

It is often necessary or at least natural to counter and recounter — to zigzag one's racial attitude course. The "second-generation" immigrant is often the victim; particularly, the Oriental-American is likely to suffer beyond comprehension. The following case is not untypical.

86. I was distrustful of the Japanese. I did not like them. Their mode of living was so strange. I had not a single thing in common with them. But what happened? During my early high-school years there were many clashes of wills between my father and me. He was old Japan, and I was the new. To me, it is interesting to note that up to this period I had never thought of myself as a Japanese, but always as an American. I was never conscious of the difference. To me, Japan was a foreign country. I knew absolutely nothing about it. I knew more of Europe and of America, than of Japan. I was more interested in studying about India and China than about Japan.

Gradually, as the circle in which I moved became larger, I met different people of various temperaments. My simple outlook on life became complex, and more complex, as I unwillingly realized that I was not to be classed as one of them. It was one of the most heartbreaking periods of my life. I wanted to be American; I wondered why God had not made me an American. If I couldn't be an American, then what was I? A Japanese? No. But not an American, either. My life background is American. My ideals of life, of education, of religion, were all American. I knew the Constitution, the oath of allegiance; I knew the history of America from its earliest beginnings. I knew its strength and weaknesses, and its drabness and its romance. I loved America and its ideals, because her ideals were my ideals. I used to rise up in wrath against any criticism which might be made against America, my country. But they tell me I am not an American; that I cannot ever be assimilated for no reason which I have ever been able to understand. . . .

During the last five years I have been slowly educating myself in things Japanese. As I learned their customs and their point of view, I have liked them immensely. And during these last five

⁴ *Ibid.*

years I have become bitter in my attitude toward certain standards of the American people. The rash, unjust statements, the utter lack of human courtesy, the various laws of California, have all made me feel heart-heavy. . . . These things have not only hurt me materially, but have lessened my faith in human honesty, in human good will, and in even the religion of Christ which the people of American think we "heathens" need so badly.

My contact with certain Americans has given me a certain reserve which has often branded me as a "cold, expressionless person without any feeling." When I am with those whom I love, I am my natural self. Japanese are classed as cold, unemotional people. But what of individuals like myself who are naturally impulsive and emotional? It is not because of my racial heredity that I am often cold or expressionless; it is my contact with certain classes of people who have taught me the wisdom of keeping my thoughts to myself.⁵

The converts made by a missionary are also likely to experience counter-race attitudes. They have been pulled away from their own racial kind but have not accepted all the culture patterns of the missionary. They maintain conflicting culture traits — for instance, the religious against family traits. Their adjustments are contradicted by well-established sentiments. Moreover, they are living the new life while still surrounded by all the powerful objects of sentiment of the old life. They are often isolated from the home folks while living in the home folks' territory. When the missionary leaves, the convert's loyalty becomes strained. The old racial pull becomes strong again, and yet to return would be unsatisfactory after having known the new life.

It is fair to say that a large amount of racial antipathy is due to frictions or "circular-response" causes. Dislike stimulates dislike, antipathy reaps antipathy, and fortunately, good will leads to more good will. The emotions of fear and hatred on the part of the native rather than real

⁵ *Ibid.*

weaknesses of the immigrants cause a considerable share of racial prejudice.

By the same token, friendly attitudes of natives as well as the worth of the immigrants are fundamental. The psychological process appears to be the same. Either antipathy or good will emerge in stimuli which arouse further antipathy or good will. Psychosocial momentum is often the main story in a racial conflict situation.

A person's real racial problems sometimes occur when a person's direct racial contacts contradict his derivative experiences, or vice versa. A deadlock may occur in a person's reactions and result in a static condition — a theme significant enough to be treated separately.

PROJECTS

1. Give an account from your experiences where a minor incident has started a strong prejudice or friendliness momentum.
2. What kind of an educational procedure can be inaugurated whereby counter-race prejudice movements may be overcome?
3. Compare the counter prejudice with the counter friendliness momentums in as many specific ways as possible.
4. Indicate a program for meeting the needs of American-born Chinese or Japanese who have "outgrown" China or Japan but who are not received in the United States.
5. Take five unfavorable attitudes of your own toward as many different races and estimate the rôle that "circular-response" developments have played.
6. Choose five races toward which you have an unfavorable attitude and estimate in each the proportion that circular response reactions have played in each.

COUNTER-ATTITUDES

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CHAPTER XI

STATIC ATTITUDES

Important and common as are changes in race attitudes, static attitudes are still more common.¹ Here are vast areas of inertia. In a case study of persons who were invited to record all the more favorable and the less favorable changes in their opinions that had occurred in the last ten years toward the enumerated races, a total of 480 changes were noted out of a possible 4290 changes, or 8.9 per cent. After allowing for changes that were not important enough to have made a lasting impression or that were not reported, we shall have remaining a large percentage of unchanged opinions and attitudes.

Personal interview materials indicate that these relatively permanent or static attitudes are: (1) markedly unfavorable, (2) potential, and (3) markedly favorable. The first and the third may each be of such a pronounced or radical character that nothing can shake them. They are based on emotionally patterned reactions. The second is different. It is usually due (a) to lack of information or (b) to information that is general and somewhat equally divided — for and against.

Seven Types. — A more detailed analysis brings out seven types of static attitude situations: (1) that due to an overwhelming fear and hatred of a dominant race; (2) that due to a consuming disgust for "low" types of culture traits; (3) that due to a sense of dynamic loyalty to one's own

¹ An elaboration of materials first published under the title of "Static Social Distance" in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. XI, pp. 579 ff.

race and to an overmastering superiority complex; (4) that due to an absence of knowledge; (5) that due to general knowledge about equally favorable and unfavorable; (6) that due to a brotherhood-of-man cosmopolitanism and idealism; and (7) that due to a rationalized philosophy of judging all races on a basis of personal worth rather than of racial heredity. Illustrations of these relatively permanent attitudes have been given in several of the preceding chapters. The analyses here therefore will not be extensive or the illustrations many.

1. Well-established fear-hatred behavior patterns are primary factors preventing change of attitudes. Fear arising out of a real or seeming attack upon one's social groups operates in the case of the Armenian's consistently adverse reactions toward Turks, or of the Polish Jew's reactions toward the Poles. An Armenian, for instance, says, "We are century-long enemies of the Turks. Their oppressions have always been unbearable. I never see one in Christian America but I shudder from head to foot and start to run." The permanency of such an attitude is easily understood. A Polish Jew reports that his grandfather taught him to hate the Poles and that "I can never forget the brutal murder of my father. I have always hated them (Poles) with an undying hatred, and I don't see how it can ever change, not until memory grows dim." The permanent element in this expression is also evident.

Hatred naturally follows fear. A race that is thought of as "bloodthirsty" is hated as a matter of course. Fear-hatred patterns are tenacious; they are ingrained feeling complexes, coupled with rationalized particularizations against whole races.

87. One does not hear the German situation talked over any more. I wonder if people all feel an unforgivable attitude toward them and try to cover it up or whether my animosity is of such an unusual depth that I can't seem to forgive or forget the stories

I heard of the Germans during the war. Since peace has been restored, many of the stories have been discredited, but still my first reaction to the word "Germany" is one of hatred. I will be very much interested to follow this attitude of mine in the next few years to see if it will change.²

2. Uncleanliness, animal-like breeding, "coarse" personal appearance, and so forth repeatedly displayed by members of any race pave the way for a continuing disgust for such a race on the part of all but racially sympathetic people. No particular fear or hatred is experienced, but an overwhelming disgust. Portuguese immigrants of the illiterate type are referred to as "filthy," as "living like pigs," as "breeding like rats." "They live on a lower plane than ordinary human beings, and there is no hope for them." The custom prevalent among the men of certain undeveloped Slavic peoples of beating their wives gives race antipathy toward Slavs a relatively permanent aspect. A mental caste attitude develops. Organic feelings of repulsiveness offset by no favorable experiences frequently account for static race attitudes of this unfavorable type.

3. A strong sense of race loyalty and kinship holds many persons steadfast in their favorable attitudes toward their "own races," irrespective of how guilty various members of the given races may be of despicable deeds. "I am English," says one person, "and have always admired the Canadians. They are English anyway. They are a part of my own racial family." A loyal son of Erin boldly declares: "The Irish is my own race, and of course I have always liked them and always shall."

An overmastering race egoism leads many persons into stable superiority attitudes toward less fortunate races. Pitying reactions and a certain friendliness are characteristic of this type of static race attitudes. A patronage complex becomes rooted in taboo and convention. The

² Social Distance Studies.

wish for recognition is also satisfied, providing the "inferior races" play a double rôle. As long as status is not invaded, friendliness within certain limits is ordinarily expressed toward the lower caste race.

88. I know my association with Negroes is passive; I am not interested in talking to them, being associated with them, or wanting them around. Recently coming from Texas, I suppose I have too much prejudice to quickly overcome. They have always been washwomen, cooks, and the like. And my love for them has been of the quality of one who loves a faithful and worthy servant, or any worthy inferior. One treats an inferior with possibly more kindness than an equal, but the feeling of condescension is there. Intermarriage between white and black is intolerable to me. I don't mind them sitting in class next to me. It makes me feel cosmopolitan and thus balances in personal vanity what might be overcome by racial prejudice.³

89. I was brought up on stories of Indian life in the early days. Grandfather was a doctor, and he often had work to do among the Indians. When there was any danger of trouble between white and Indian, some of his Indian friends would always come to warn him. However, no serious trouble ever developed. As far as I can learn, grandmother had the rare knack of knowing how to handle the Indian, just the right mixture of sternness and friendship. I know, when she died, that the Indians for miles came to the funeral.

Growing up with this background of family friendship for the Indians, I have always had that comfortable feeling of friendly patronage toward them.⁴

4. Absence of social contacts and lack of racial experiences give many people attitudes of permanent aloofness from races that they do not understand. No new racial experiences, either direct or derivative, bring about changes. "I have never known members of the race (Serbo-Croatian) and do not have any personal acquaintance with it. My feeling is neutral." In referring to the Syrians, another person states that "no members of that race have ever crossed my path." "I am neither favorable nor unfavorable

³ Social Distance Studies.

⁴ *Ibid.*

to them — just do not know them, that's all. I have never had any experience with the group and so have not changed in one way or another so far as I know." Still another cannot discover that his opinion has changed concerning any racial groups in the last years, because of the fact that he has lived in a distinctly American community. No immigrants or Negroes live there. No contacts with any other races have been made, and there "have been no distinct reactions either favorably or unfavorably."

5. General knowledge of an impersonal sort is accompanied by a potential attitude. Status is not invaded. Emotional reactions have not been aroused. No occasion has yet arisen whereby definite action one way or the other has been stimulated. The knowledge in hand is of a nonpersonal, noncompetitive nature. "I don't know what I do think about the Dalmatians," says one American. "I understand that they have a fine physique and good vitality, but on the other hand they are reported to be backward culturally. They are 'humanity in the rough,' and I suppose can be refined. I am reserving my judgment until I know more about them."

6. A brotherhood-of-man cosmopolitanism is often the foundation of a stable race friendliness. Friendly feelings arising out of a long series of favorable experiences with certain races become crystallized into permanent attitudes of race friendliness. Religious idealism may also account for the even tenor of general racial good will that many persons manifest. An oppression complex often brings a deeply human and relative sympathy. "Being a member of a physician's family, I early discovered that pain and sorrow are no respecters of person or color."

90. The Indians are a racial group toward which I have always had a friendly feeling. I think this is due to my early contact with them. About six miles from my home town there was an Indian reservation. We always had an Indian woman come to

our house to do the washing. My mother could speak Spanish, and the Indian could also, so they always had a visit back and forth. We gave them things to take home with them besides their wages, bought their baskets, and they in return would often bring us presents of pasoli or meat.

In the summertime Indian families would come and camp at our ranch while they worked harvesting the apricots and almonds. I used to watch them cooking and eating. They always seemed to have such a good time visiting with each other.

Once we had a family of Indians come in from the desert to work for us. They had had little contact with whites. They came the first two years with pack horses and riding horses for the father and oldest boys. The mother and younger children walked. The third year they appeared with a wagon, and all rode. They were getting educated. This particular family used to make dresses for the mother and oldest girl. I believe another reason I felt an interest in the Indians was because my mother's people were among those who crossed the plains, arriving here in 1853. They were among the first settlers in the San Geronimo Pass.⁵

7. A rationalized philosophy of life that judges people on the basis of personal worth and social achievement rather than on racial connections guarantees dependable racial attitudes. This tendency leads one to seek the racial understanding through the study of facts and of their deeply human meanings. A training in anthropology and ethnology that has led one to live with many races and to understand their history, their struggles, and their shortcomings is important. "Being a member of an oppressed group," says a Negro, "I have been reared to respect racial suffering." A Jewish young man recalls that his parents have instilled in him the belief that there are no racial characteristics that should cause hatred by other races and that ill feelings and prejudices are the result of not knowing each other's point of view. "That there are individual characteristics which make for good and bad in all races has always been clear to me." A Negro reports that, if it hadn't been for

⁵ Social Distance Studies.

his careful training, he would have developed a distinct dislike for the white race, because of the mistreatment which his race has received. As a boy and youth he was never told of the prejudices of white people against his race, and hence he has been able to stave off a dislike for the white race.

If there be different degrees of changelessness, the first two (negative) and the third (positive) are least likely to be modified seriously. The first two are "fixed" in adverse and defensive emotional patterns organized about the urge for security; the third is a form of ethnocentrism "fixed" in dogmatic beliefs centering about the wish for recognition. The fourth and fifth types are the most open-minded of all and most likely to have their stability upset. The sixth and seventh have vulnerable spots that are most easily reached by a series of experiences that would undermine status.

PROJECTS

1. Compare static unfavorable with static favorable attitudes regarding race.
2. Compare the static favorable and unfavorable race attitudes with the static potential attitudes.
3. Compare the merits and demerits of possessing a highly developed and fixed race loyalty.
4. Analyze the strong and weak phases of having a strong and settled race prejudice.
5. Discuss the chief factors leading to a racial superiority complex, such as the Nordic complex.
6. Describe the process whereby a person develops a cosmopolitan race attitude.

STATIC ATTITUDES

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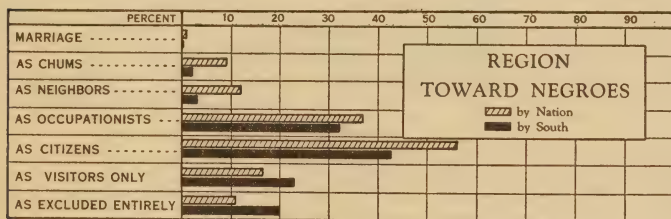
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PART III
VARIATION

CHAPTER XII

REGIONAL AND CULTURE CONTACTS

Racial attitudes vary according to region. The case materials upon which this chapter is based come from a number of different regions in the United States, for example, New England, New York City, the South, the Middle West, and the West.¹ In this consideration of race attitudes on a regional basis only those cases have been included where the extraregional factors are similar; that is to say, only those studies have been used where factors such as age-period, educational training, racial grouping, religious grouping are uniform. The chief remaining difference is region, and thus the relation of region to race attitudes may be examined. The racial attitudes of a total of 1725 persons have been treated in this regional study.



GRAPH I

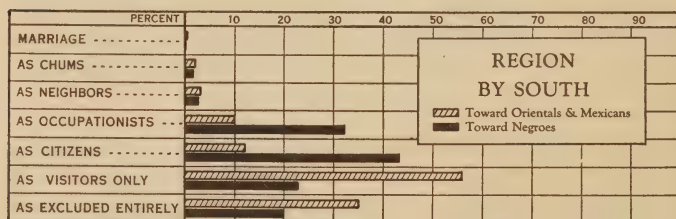
Comparison of attitudes of 1725 Americans from various parts of the United States with 200 Americans (white) from the South.

Regional Factors.—At the outset the thought may be advanced that region may make an important difference in

¹ The writer is now engaged in gathering data from other countries, and hopes at a later date to treat the question of social distance between races upon a world regional basis.

racial attitudes. The classic illustration of regional variation in race attitudes is the South. In taking the first 200 case studies made in the South and comparing them with the national total of 1725 studies, differences may be noted. Graph I, using the social-distance exercise,² shows the nature of some of these differences. In the South, for instance, there are fewer favorable reactions to intermarrying with Negroes than in the United States as a whole, to admitting Negroes to the white man's social clubs, and to admitting them to the white man's neighborhoods.

Again, if the case group of 200 white persons in the South whose racial reactions have been studied be examined with reference to reactions toward the Negroes, Orientals, and Mexicans, interesting differences crop out. As indicated by Graph II, a more friendly feeling is expressed toward the



GRAPH II

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 200 Americans (white) from the South toward Orientals and Mexicans, and Negroes.

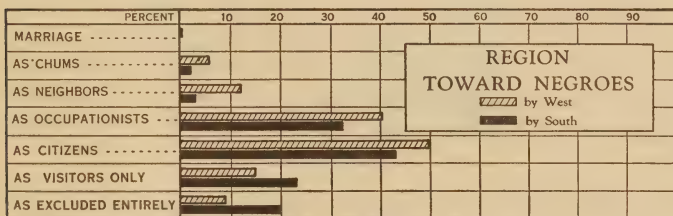
Negro than toward Orientals and Mexicans. While there is antipathy shown toward the Negro, the people of the South know the good traits of the Negro and feel a real need of him economically. The Oriental, on the other hand, sometimes brings up a traditional image of "a Chinaman with a pigtail and a long knife" or of a "shrewd, aggressive Jap, the secret agent of the mikado." Mexicans, likewise,

² Described in Chapter II.

are often viewed in terms of "bandits." Spatial proximity plus economic necessity versus spatial distance account for certain of these differences in cultural attitudes.

A second observation is that regional differences are accompanied by widespread similarities in attitudes. For instance, all the main regions of the United States express marked aversions for the Turk and good will for the Scotch. Taken by and large, and considering regional reactions to peoples of forty different racial groups, similarity rather than difference in racial attitudes prevails. When we consider the attitudes of the different regions of the United States toward well-known races, such as Italians or Norwegians, the correlations in the main are high and the standard deviations low.

A third consideration is variation in regional distance. The greater the spatial distance between regions, the greater

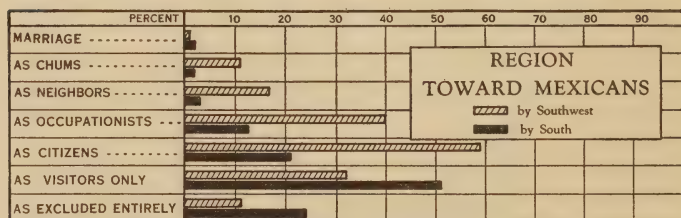


GRAPH III

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 200 Americans from the West and 200 Americans from the South (white).

the likelihood of finding differences in race attitudes. In the various regions of the South, for instance, the attitudes of the white people toward the colored do not vary greatly. The correlations of the race reactions of the citizens of Florida with those of Tennessee are high. On the Pacific Coast the attitudes expressed toward the Negro in Washington and in California are similar. But when the race

reactions of two regions, as far apart as Florida and the state of Washington, are compared, noteworthy dissimilarities are evident. By case studies of the race attitudes of 400 persons (200 from the South and 200 from the Pacific Coast) who represent similar age periods, educational levels, racial descent, religious reactions, it has been possible to chart attitudinal differences (Graph III). Moreover, it has been feasible as shown by Graph III to measure these differences. These data are confirmed by the personal interview materials. The coast takes a somewhat friendlier attitude toward the Negro than does the South, as is to be expected, but the extent of this greater friendliness is much less than many "Northerners" would surmise.



GRAPH IV

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 200 Americans from the South (white) and of 200 Americans from the Southwest.

The differences in these regional reactions are shown by the personal experience data to be due to differences in social contacts, not to personal superiority; that is, if the white people of the coast could exchange places (in both the regional and social contact senses) with the people of the South, there would soon be a complete interchange of race reactions.

By the same methods of analysis, it appears that Florida and Tennessee react similarly. But the first similarity is noticeably different from the second (see Graph IV).

Kansas and California are in the Mexican immigrant belt; they are extensively agricultural, and need Mexican immigrant labor. Moreover, where present even in large numbers, Mexicans have been docile, nonaggressive, have invaded nobody's status, and hence arouse little antagonism. They are not competitors with white labor; they do not disturb the social status of any group. The economic need for them is persistent, and friendly attitudes toward them flourish.

The personal experience materials show that in the South, on the other hand, the Mexican is not viewed as economically essential. The need for him is not strong. Moreover, his worst traits are "played up" in the public eye; the less reputable Mexican becomes the standard type of Mexican. On occasion, the Mexican is classed with the Negro. In comparing the South and the Southwest in their attitudes toward Mexican immigrants, true regional and ecological factors function more or less directly.

In the fourth place rural regions are different in racial attitudes from urban, but the connections between region and racial attitudes are obviously indirect. In rural districts the racial reactions are personal. "Likes" and "dislikes" rule. There is community uniformity and the range of "invading" races that will be accepted is smaller than in the city with its many varieties of regional cultures. The poorer urban districts, occupied by "downtrodden" races, do not mind the advent of one more such race even in considerable numbers. In the wealthy urban districts the racial reactions are more largely against a "race" as such. Again, cultural distinctions account for many variations in regional differences.

A fifth observation is that regional variations in racial attitudes may depend on differences in racial invasion. A clear-cut illustration is afforded by the materials of the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey. A few years ago

Florin, California, reacted vigorously against the Japanese; at the same time the near-by community of Livingston reacted in friendly ways. In the former the Japanese were allowed only one main contact with Americans (by Americans of course): namely, the economic contact, and that in a limited way. In the latter they became stockholders in the bank, members along with Americans in a coöperative society, attendants at the Y. M. C. A., members of the American parent-teachers' association, sharers in financing the community baseball team, the band, the chautauqua, and so on. No objections have been raised in the schools of Livingston to Japanese children, except by newly arrived teachers.

What were the differences in the "invasions"? (1) In Florin the Americans came first, but were later outnumbered. In Livingston, the Japanese as a group settled first and are now outnumbered five to one. "Competition" is far less in Livingston; the numbers are not disturbing. (2) In Florin the Japanese are of a lower cultural and less desirable type than in Livingston; the percentage of illiteracy is greater. (3) In Florin the Japanese have little leadership; in Livingston they have had a former Japanese teacher of agriculture in Japan as a leader. He is a broad-minded person, anticipating conflicts, and giving consideration to American points of view, instead of just blindly pushing into the community.³ These variations in race invasion are partly, it will be noted, of a cultural nature.

Race invasion itself is sufficient to upset a region's established racial mores. If the invading race is likely in any way to lower the status — social, economic, or otherwise — of the citizens, then a whole region's race attitudes will change for the worse, or at least will not manifest friendliness.

³ For fuller statement see Bogardus E. S., *The New Social Research*, pp. 227 ff. J. R. Miller Press, Los Angeles, 1926.

91. Ten years ago I was not particularly interested in the Japanese one way or the other. About that time a Japanese family moved into our neighborhood. They had bought their home in the name of their baby boy. The neighbors naturally were much opposed, and the quarrel resulted in two or three law suits. In both of these, the Japanese people were successful because of the fact that their son was an American-born child.

I was very much interested in the case and, of course, resented the fact that made it possible for them to become our neighbors. Although they improved their home very much and were the tidiest of people, all the other people ignored them completely.⁴

Coupled with racial invasion as a factor creating regional differences in racial attitudes is racial competition. As racial competition varies in different regions, so racial attitudes vary. In the southern states the presence of masses of Negroes is disturbing, while in the Pacific Coast regions the competition by Japanese immigrants prior to 1924 upset normal racial attitudes. In New York City the "competition" of the Irish and the Jews has created serious disturbances in the race attitudes of the "natives."

Region and Culture. — It appears impossible to separate regional and cultural factors in accounting for differences in racial attitudes. If the cultures⁵ are similar in different regions, then the racial attitudes are likely to be similar. If the cultures are different in the same region, dissimilarities in racial attitudes are likely to be found. A culture containing a definite race mores may become so embedded in a region that to separate the two is impossible. Cultural complexes as the home into which children are born may lead to such generalizations as "once a Southerner, always a Southerner," and "what has been born and bred into you, cannot be removed." Region and culture are complementary and inseparable.

⁴ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

⁵ Used in the social anthropological sense and refers to all the ways of doing and thinking of a social group.

92. Perhaps the key to the whole situation, that is, to my feeling concerning the Negro, is that practically all of my life thus far was lived in the South; and, of course, one who has been born, bred, and reared in the South is inclined to have a personal dislike for the Negro.

However, a bit more of explanation may show sufficient cause (the average Northerner would deny that there is a sufficient cause) for my feeling. In the majority of the southern states, the Negro knows that there is a so-called line of distinction between the white and black race, and he (the Negro) recognizes the fact that overstepping the line would doubtless cause difficulties; so he knows his place and keeps it even though it may be against his will. After having come North, I found an entirely different condition existing and one which it is indeed most difficult for me to become accustomed to: namely, that of the Negro considering himself on a par and even sometimes superior to the white. It even "goes against the grain" for me to have to sit in the same university class that a Negro is in. In fact, a Negro associating himself with the whites "leaves a dark brown taste in my mouth."

Of course, I am attempting to overcome that feeling and to suppress that prejudice; but when it is "born and bred in," it is not so easy to put it off. In not all cases is this true, but at least in the majority of cases it will be found that as to the feeling toward the Negro, "once a Southerner, always a Southerner."

When one sees with a prejudiced mind, it is exceedingly difficult to get him to see otherwise. I plead "guilty" on race prejudice—against the Negro—but perhaps if I live to be as old as Methuselah and stay in the North all that time, I will be able to erase that race prejudice.⁶

The rôle of culture in accounting for regional differences is seen in such variations in racial attitudes as is represented by northern California and southern California. The former, with its "native-son" consciousness and strong labor organizations, and the latter, with its "back-east" consciousness and its absence of organized labor conditions, have reacted somewhat differently toward Japanese immigration. Labor unions in the north turned quickly

⁶ Social Distance Studies.

against cheap labor from Japan, while the employers in the south have remained more or less friendly. The organized "native-son" consciousness of the north with its keen sense of California loyalty responds sooner (unfavorably) than does the unorganized "back-east" consciousness. In the north a common danger such as "racial invasion" is sensed sooner, produces more vigorous feeling reactions, and is more likely to be exaggerated than in the south. In both regions, however, there is the larger national loyalty that is quick to resent a serious racial invasion.

An important question arises: What is the connection between region and the origins of a given regional culture? Apparently there is a direct relation between a region and its peculiar culture traits, and in this way region is an indirect and important factor in the race attitude variations that are found in different regions.

Inter-Region Migration. — The attitudinal significance of regional and cultural variations is especially clear when case studies are made of the effects of moving from one region to another. After a person moves, he usually finds himself in conflict with racial attitudes that are at least partially new and strange to him. He is likely first to resent expressions of new attitudes, then "to explode against them." In the explosion he displays attitudes originating from the regional culture from which he has emigrated.

A white woman from the South went to Colorado and was employed in a hotel where a colored boy was taking care of the linen. An altercation over a minor matter occurred between them, whereupon the white woman demanded of the landlady: "Either get that coon out of here or me. We don't work under the same roof." Another white woman from the South, residing in a western city, went to the front door to answer a call. A colored woman, introducing herself as Mrs. Brown, said she was answering

an "ad" for work, whereupon the white woman replied: "All right, Brown, you just go right to my back door, and I'll talk to you." The old regional attitude maintains itself in new regions. The chief exceptions occur if one be young enough, tolerant enough, and mentally versatile enough.

A Southerner going North is shocked by the freedom that the Negro is given and that he "assumes." Under northern conditions the Negro is continually getting "out of place," from the standpoint of the Southerner. Under these regional conditions where the Negro acts "abnormally," the Southerner also reacts "abnormally." Increased antipathy toward the Negro is kindled. The friendly feeling toward the Negro "in his place" in the South changes to a hostile feeling against the Negro in the North, for "tramping on your feet in the street cars and punching your clothes off of you and even punching you off the sidewalks."

A given race's actions may be different in one region from its actions in another. Its status may be higher. If a member of the culturally dominant race in the first region moves to the second, he is naturally shocked by the "airs" that the lower race, culturally speaking, assumes. Race prejudice increases.

93. I have acquired a feeling of repulsion toward the Negro race. Before I moved to L., I saw few Negroes and had no feeling of enmity toward them. In fact, I rather liked the Negro. I read Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* and a few books of like nature, and felt strongly in favor of more toleration for the Negro. I believed that race prejudice was useless and rather foolish.

Then I moved to L. Daily I was thrown in contact with many members of the race — on street cars, on the streets, at school. I saw evidences of great rudeness, almost insults, of many Negroes toward the whites. On street cars many Negroes, especially men, would rush to get a vacant seat before some white woman could get to it.

This hard feeling on the part of the Negro is said by many

people to have been caused by unjust treatment on the part of the whites. I believe that, if the Negroes would keep their distance, the whites would meet them half way regarding just dealing.

There is so much talk about the Negro question and so much argument that I believe the effect is to influence people in the opposite way and build up in them a feeling of hatred toward those for whom they wish to banish race prejudice.⁷

Again, when a person moves from one region to another, he may acquire new antipathies. The different conditions which he finds in the new region seem to justify him in "falling into" the antipathies that he finds. However, he may fight against the latter for a time, but he is likely to succumb. His chief recourse is to withdraw to some other region where conditions are more favorable.

An idealistic set of attitudes is quickly shattered by making a change in one's environment. A Northerner says that before he moved to Texas he thought of Mexicans at their best. He envisaged "dark-skinned beauties, señoritas with ruby lips and flashing teeth, dancing the fandango to wile away the hours that they do not spend in luxurious siestas." He also thought of Mexicans as playing serenades on soft-toned guitars. Then he moved to El Paso and before long became acquainted with "Spiks," the Texas word for neighboring Mexicans. He saw only the poor and degraded class of Mexicans, but had he come in contact with only the best and educated Mexicans his increasing dislike of Mexicans would never have occurred. "They (Mexicans) were a constant source of annoyance; they were thieving and fighting all over our part of town. Although my present dislike is unfair, I cannot help it."

94. I have a distinctly less favorable opinion of the Japanese race at present than I had ten years ago, or even five years ago, for several reasons.

⁷ Social Distance Studies.

First of all, in Birmingham, Alabama, where I lived for about ten years, there was only a handful of Japanese, and as a result they were looked upon more as curiosities by the whites than with any other feeling. A Japanese family lived several blocks away from my home, but I felt no opposition to that; on the contrary, I often walked by to see them, out of curiosity.

But about four years ago I came to A. and immediately began to hear of the Japanese "menace." In my first term in high school here, I heard a long and serious talk by one of the instructors on this "menace," and he asserted that the next war would be a racial one — the entire white world against the yellow. He pointed out the cleverness and craftiness of the Japanese, and I believed every word. Immediately I became alarmed, being in the "danger zone," for was not California "overrun" with the Japanese, and the first place that Japan would naturally attack?

Since that time I have heard more opposition against the race, although not always so strong. Of course, my "alarm" caused by that talk of several years ago has passed entirely, yet I hold faith in what the man said. And although I wish to be broad-minded and fair, I have retained a rather suspicious attitude toward the race.

I admit that I have had very little personal contact with the race. In fact, it is difficult for me to distinguish between the Japanese and the Chinese. And by the way, here is another race for which I have almost the same feeling, based practically on the same reasons.⁸

95. In my earlier years I had formulated no particular dislike for the colored people. For one thing, they did not come to my attention enough for me to bother about it. Then again, every one else merely accepted them for what they were and showed no outstanding prejudice for them or against them; they seemed to have just as good a right to be here as the rest of us, and as long as they were peaceful they would be let alone.

I took a trip to Texas about a year ago, and I learned a whole lot about the Negro — against him, of course. I learned that his skull was much thicker than a white person's, that he had no sense of morality and that he really desired to remain in subjection rather than to rise to a more elevated standing. I feebly argued about the clause in the Constitution setting us all on an equal basis; I even cited the case of a Negro, holding office in Washing-

⁸ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

ton — to which they replied, "Yes, the President considers that all right; but if he had a daughter and the Negro would pay her attention, we would see what the President really thought about Negroes." The party I was talking to had always wanted to visit California, but after I told him that we allowed the Negro to sit by us in a street car, he was utterly disgusted and said that a Southerner could never endure the tolerant attitude we manifest here.

I must confess that my own attitude toward the Negro began to change little by little upon seeing them herded together in a street car and upon seeing the utter disregard for them manifested by the Southerners. Every time I would protest against the treatment accorded the poor colored people, I would be cited an instance where the Negro really desired to stay in his present state of subjection and resented any attempt to help him out of his rut.

After being talked to in this manner and after hearing of the atrocities against society committed by the Negro, my opinion of the colored person began to change by degrees until I probably would be as extreme in my dislike as the average Texan if I had not returned to the atmosphere of tolerance characteristic of the West. However, I believe that the average Negro in the North and West is of a higher type than those in the South. They are not so looked down on; they have more freedom and greater rights and their social position is very much superior than in the South. This is a big factor in causing the higher status of the Negro in the North and our consequent lack of abhorrence for all Negroes in general.

I have overcome my antagonism to a large extent, as I have already explained, but my opinion has, nevertheless, suffered alteration towards the Negro, which will probably be overcome as the years pass on and my Texas experience becomes a thing of the past.⁹

Sometimes, in moving, a person finds more friendly attitudes prevalent regarding a race than he had hitherto known. If residing in the new region affords him favorable experiences with members of the race in question, then ultimately he may be expected to become more friendly. The process, however, usually operates very slowly.

⁹ Social Distance Studies.

96. Ever since my early recollections, I can recall how my family was very prejudiced against the French. I grew up in that environment and learned to hate the French because of the attitude my parents had for them. Every time that I would come in contact with one, hatred was the first thing that entered my mind. In my opinion, the French were detestable.

Later in life, I moved to a different community where I became very well acquainted with a French family. A son and myself became very good pals, and later came to college together. Through him, I came in contact with many other French people whom I admired, and gradually my prejudice against them was overcome.¹⁰

The part that region plays in the development and changes in racial attitudes is usually indirect, subtle, and many-sided. It operates through the culture differences and contacts that it affords. Its significance is often completely hidden from the persons affected by it. When a person migrates from one region to another, he is subjected to the impact of new regional stimuli. The more nearly similar these are to the old stimuli, the more immediate is the favorable response. If they be decidedly different, the first results are a series of "shocks," but in time a person grows calloused and may later adopt the ways that originally were shocking.

If the migrating person be a native moving from one part of his country to another locality, the "shocks" relate to the new rôles which he finds that immigrants are playing. He may quickly shift from favorable to unfavorable reactions concerning immigrant groups, or more or less slowly from unfavorable to favorable attitudes. At any rate, the impact of the new regional stimuli sooner or later produces results. But these changes vary greatly according to the ages of the persons involved—a theme which will be considered next. Differences in age usually imply significant variations in life organization.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

PROJECTS

1. If you have lived in two or more regions, compare in detail the race attitudes of each toward selected races, giving illustrative materials.

2. When you moved into a new region, what were your reactions to the new race conditions that you found? Describe fully any change in attitudes that you underwent.

3. Choose five specific attitudes of your own or of other persons, and search out the regional origins of each.

4. Compare and contrast the race attitudes of a rural region that you know with the race attitudes of a large city.

5. Compare the attitudes of two different regions of a given city toward selected races.

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CHAPTER XIII

AGE VARIATIONS

Children do not react at first to races, as such, but to persons. They first respond to others as individuals rather than as groups. The world is, to the child, a blurred theater of human beings irrespective of race, until he is told differently or until his experiences widen and he generalizes on his limited data. A small colored child does not as a rule discriminate against a white child unless he learns from his elders to do so, or unless he suffers adverse experiences.

97. As a child, my first recollections of races were entirely general. I used the terms "German," "Swede," and "Irish," long before they had any meaning except as a kind of second names for certain neighbors of ours in Iowa. Germany, Sweden, and Ireland had no meaning for me. I thought of Theodore, Andrew, and Eddie first, and then of their racial names. The one and only question in my mind was: What kind of a playmate is this boy or that?¹

98. As a small boy, I liked to play with little children of any race. We lived for a time in a mixed neighborhood, one in transition. There were several races represented, even a few Negroes, and I played with all the children. The only exception was a little Italian boy, and I didn't like him because the teacher had to wash his head one day. The children in that family also had the scarlet fever, and that kept me away from them too.²

Aversions among children usually develop because of what may be called "personality clashes." They may arise between two white boys or between two colored boys, as well as between a white and a colored boy, for, at first each

¹ Social Distance Studies.

² *Ibid.*

new child who appears in a social situation is viewed as a strange individual and is judged on his own merits and demerits.

Personality clashes between children of different races may find various expressions. For instance, a very young child may cry with fear upon seeing a child of another race, apparently for the same reason that he cries when he sees a strange adult of his own race. An older child of a dominant nature may react variously to a "foreign" child, for example, by making fun of the latter, by tantalizing him, by taking his toys and keeping them — in fact, as he would toward a younger brother, but "more so."

An adolescent boy, particularly one in the "gang" stage, delights in tormenting a smaller boy whom he "does not like." With his own gang behind him, his tantalizing methods know no limits. A boy of foreign parentage, if his language, his clothes, or his actions be peculiar, is especially likely to be a victim. If the local community conditions be ripe, a fight between two youths of different races may "set off" a race conflagration.

99. Last night there was a fight down in front of one of the theaters on C. Street between the Negro and the white boys. It is rumored that they are going to finish it tonight; down there among the pipes they are going to have a regular gang fight. I (playground worker in the district) always try to watch out for that. Last night the members of each race called each other names although only boys took the part of their respective races. When a white boy recklessly called a Negro boy a dirty name, he little knew that he started a race riot. Did you see the big headlines in the extras today? This whole part of the city is stirred up, and it'll not be safe to go out on C. Street tonight.³

Unfriendly race attitudes of children toward children of immigrant races develop at various ages beginning at eight or younger. A western school principal, quoted by Bruno Lasker in *The Inquiry*, says that race hostility appears

³ Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1925.

among children from eight to twelve years old. "In the younger children I see no planned aversion, only what I think is a natural one. As the child gets older, the tendency to cruelty changes to ridicule, and unfairness becomes more subtle." These attitudes undergo changes, perhaps a progressive evolution "from one form of adverse race attitude into another." Mr Lasker concludes from studying a number of reports by school teachers and principals that "in the very young child an adverse race attitude usually takes the form of fear, that this later develops into hostility in which the element of fear gradually recedes and those of cruelty, patronage, unfairness and ridicule—in other words, the active elements of reaction, the attitude expressed in conduct—come to the front."

Friendly attitudes between children of different races also begin to develop naturally on the basis of personal rather than of race relations. The personal considerations outweigh the race factors when the latter are first mentioned and before the pressure of the child's own group opinion is felt.

100. The parents had been at the Christmas "assembly" at school proudly to watch five-year-old Johnny. It was natural that at dinner afterwards the celebration was discussed. One of them remarked on the fact that Henry, a classmate of John's of Jewish parentage, seemed to have enjoyed the singing of the hymns and a little religious address by one of the teachers quite as much as the Christian children. All at once John flared up, "Don't you call Henry a Jew—he is a friend of mine."⁴

Shifts to Racial Generalizations.—There soon comes a time in the child's life, in pre-adolescence, and certainly by the beginning of adolescence, depending on locality and culture conditions, when the child is likely to hear his parents speak against certain races. The poison arrows of prejudice and hatred find easy marks. An antipathy-

⁴ From an unpublished manuscript by Bruno Lasker, *The Inquiry*.

charged home atmosphere is naturally absorbed by the child, and he begins to make distinctions on race rather than on personal bases. Moreover, the racial distinctions do not arise out of his own experiences but from the generalizations of parents. When a white boy declares at home that he has made a new friend who is a colored boy, the ordinary white home promptly disapproves and reacts adversely to colored children as a race. An exception to this rule is so unusual that it seems astounding.

101. Toward the end of January, there was a discussion at the supper table one evening which involved some reference to colored people. The boy remarked quite casually, "My best friend . . . is a colored boy." No one of the household had known of this before. His mother said afterward that she realized that one smile, one exclamation, one surprised question, would have done more harm in instilling a consciousness of there being something unusual in the situation than hours of platitudes about its being very nice for him to have a little colored friend, etc., could have undone. She said that of the rather large household not one "quivered an eye-lid" or made the slightest sign of surprise, and the intimacy has continued to be spoken of in exactly the same way.⁵

In addition to the home there are the playmates who influence the child in his development of race antipathies, in changing from friendly personal judgments to adverse racial judgments. The influence of the child's playmates may be even greater in this direction than the influence of his parents, and equally unscientific.

102. A little white son of Ohio was visiting in a southern city. One day he was somewhat noisy in his play on the street, near a sanatorium for colored women. The Negro physician in charge came out and asked him to play less boisterously. Next day, the lad was again passing the place, this time accompanied by a little white southern boy. Both were shouting. Suddenly, the northern boy remembered the request of the physician. "We must be quiet," he said, "or we'll disturb the sick ladies in the hospital."

⁵ *Ibid.*

His companion was dumfounded. He stopped short, sat down on the curbstone, rested his check on his hand and assumed an air of the utmost disgust. "Say," he ejaculated, "you make me sick! Calling niggers ladies."⁶

103. My playmates made fun of me when they caught me talking to a colored girl one day at school. I used to walk part way home with two colored boys. They were so carefree and were fine boys. I liked their company, but I had to quit being seen in their company or else lose the respect of the white boys and especially of the white girls. To talk with them sometimes and to turn a cold shoulder at times when I was likely to be "seen" disturbed me, and I was forced to drop their acquaintance altogether. This was when I was about fourteen, I should say.⁷

The data at hand show that under certain conditions adolescents may express race antipathies more definitely than do adults. Many take their parents seriously and even enlarge upon the latter's reactions. Where the parents through religious beliefs or otherwise express a racial cosmopolitanism and an international idealism, the children will respond likewise, if there be good *rapport* between parents and their children.

Oftentimes a community happening will demonstrate the responsiveness of children to the race antipathies of parents. In a junior high school on the Pacific Coast some years ago a capable and worthy Japanese boy was elected overwhelmingly as student-body president. Presently, within a few days, a recall against the newly elected Japanese was proposed, before he had had an opportunity to show what he could do. The recall plans spread throughout the school, and the children upon being questioned regarding their erratic action explained that when they had gone home and told how they had elected J. president, the parents had "blown up," asserting that "we don't want any Jap to be leading our children." The responsiveness of the innocent children to their parents' strong race feeling

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Social Distance Studies.

became so general that it had to be heeded by the school authorities.

Case-Group Studies.—In a regional study where children and adults from the southern states have moved to Los Angeles (where northern race attitudes prevail), the data show that nearly all the changes in attitudes toward the Negro on the part of the white people studied were among the young. Practically no change of attitude, certainly not of increased friendliness, was found among the older people.⁸

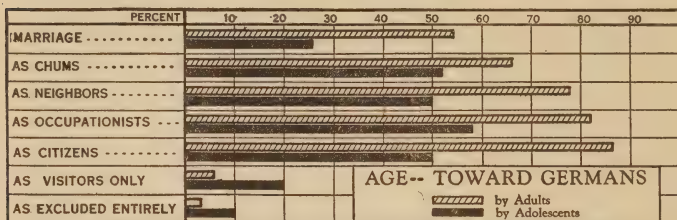
A study of white and colored boys shows that they may play together, and yet race distinctions may exist. The beginnings of a caste status may be developing. The two groups may play together in friendly ways, but with the tacit understanding that one is "superior" and the other "inferior."

Advance reports of the strike of fourteen hundred white boys and girls in Gary, Indiana, September, 1927, when twenty-four colored boys and girls were assigned to their school by the school authorities indicate that the strike was successful because the parents of the white young people stood more or less solidly behind the strike. Without parental encouragement and support the strike doubtless would have failed.

In a test case the racial attitudes of two hundred and twenty-five adolescents show interesting variations when compared with the race reactions of adults. Graph V indicates, for instance, that the given adolescents are less friendly toward Germans. Interviewing brings out the fact that the adolescents are still laboring under the influence of anti-German talk that they heard in 1918 when they were small children. The stories of German atrocities, such as mutilation of children, made a vivid and lasting impression. The more friendly attitudes toward Germans

⁸ From an unpublished manuscript by Charles Amlin, Los Angeles.

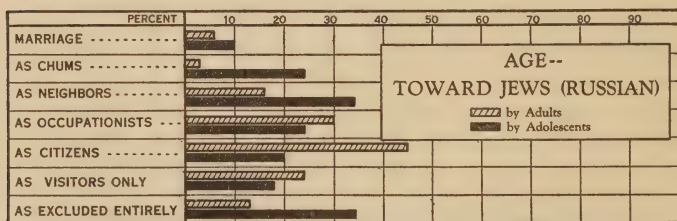
that the American adults now express is due to rationalization upon the war and postwar conditions. This rationalization has not affected their children to the same degree, at least not sufficiently to enable them to overcome the emotionally vivid reactions of early childhood.



GRAPH V

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 225 adolescents and of 500 adults toward Germans.

Graphs VI, VII, and VIII indicate other definite tendencies. The adolescents are more friendly toward the Jews, Japanese, and Negroes than are the adults in primary group relationships (notice columns 2 and 3) and less



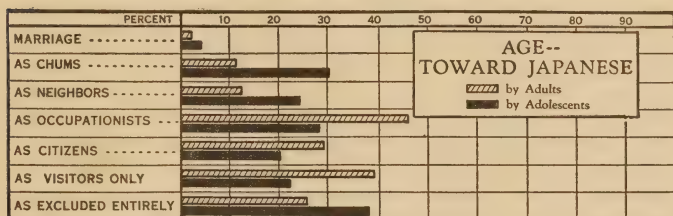
GRAPH VI

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 225 adolescents and of 500 adults toward Russian Jews.

friendly in the larger and more impersonal group relationships. Adolescents react chiefly in terms of primary groups.

The mature and aged react racially in either one of two

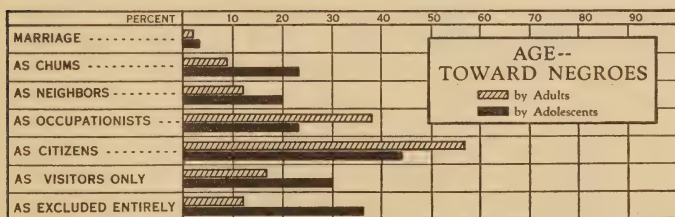
ways. They easily grow confirmed in their race prejudices. These fixations are exceedingly difficult to change, and their nature is indicated by such expressions: "You never can trust the Irish"; "once a Jap always a Jap"; "the nigger can't change his skin."



GRAPH VII

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 225 adolescents and of 500 adults toward Japanese.

104. I'm beyond the allotted three score and ten and still hate the Turks and always shall. I never could trust them as a race. Their persecution of Christian Armenians, their religion, their harems, their repulsive customs and habits — oh, why go over



GRAPH VIII

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 225 adolescents and of 500 adults toward Negroes.

their deceitful ways further? There's no use arguing with me, not a bit — the more you talk, the more time you are wasting on me. When I get to Heaven, I hope there will be no Turks there.⁹

⁹ Social Distance Studies.

The second reaction type is one of mellowed friendship. As a person grows older he views life in a new perspective; a more universal and perhaps theoretical oneness of life develops. Race distinctions recede. Life ends as it begins, in reactions to persons rather than to larger group units.

105. I see things in a bigger way than I once did. There was a time when I despised the Japs, because I thought that some day Japan might eclipse the United States; but I now say, let the best race win. That is a strange statement for me to make, I know, but I have thought it all through and mean it. Of course, I still think that Americans are the ablest people on earth, and so perhaps I'm not as generous as I sound; and yet if the Americans sink low and become mere gluttons, then let some better race take their place. Perhaps it will be the Chinese. Who can tell?¹⁰

As practical daily contacts grow fewer, prejudices either remain fixed, or mellowed philosophizing develops. The determination of which of these two tendencies will develop depends on temperament, previous race experiences, and philosophy of life.

Racial reactions run an age gamut. At first they are individual, not racial at all. Then parents and playmates introduce racial generalizations. Parental antipathies play a large rôle. Idealistic attitudes may be encouraged in college days. Later, in middle life, a practical viewpoint based on occupational experiences, often of a competitive nature, develops. Antipathies easily become fixed. Old age sees a continuation of antipathy fixations, or else mellowed reflections of broad tolerance.

PROJECTS

1. Write out in detail your *first* recollections of races besides your own, drawing comparisons. What races were viewed favorably, which unfavorably, at what ages, under what conditions, and accompanied by what personal experiences?

¹⁰ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

2. Trace your own reactions by age periods concerning any three selected races.

3. Make a first-hand study of the circumstances under which native children react favorably and unfavorably to immigrant children.

4. Make a similar study concerning the race reactions of immigrant children toward "native" children.

5. Describe from observation and analyze the different kinds of social situations in which children of different races in your community are in contact.

6. Describe the social situations in which children manifest racial reactions of (a) fear, (b) hatred, (c) cruelty, (d) unfairness, (e) patronizing attitude, and (f) ridicule.

AGE VARIATIONS

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CHAPTER XIV

SEX DISTINCTIONS

In what ways are men distinguished from women in their racial attitudes? Sex contrasts in racial attitudes are many. In the first place, racial relations data show that in the main women are more reserved than men in making racial contacts. They seem to give more personal attention than do men to racial distinctions. A member of an immigrant race is viewed by a woman as a *different person*; by a man, as a laborer, a possible *competitor* in business, or a new "prospect." Women are more affected than men by unpleasant sense stimuli, and hence develop antipathies. Both men and women react against immigrants who become social or economic competitors, and thus develop prejudices.

As a rule, women are somewhat slower than men in entering into racial intermarriage. A leading variation from the general rule is the woman who out of sympathy befriends immigrant peoples. But in befriending the men of immigrant races, a woman often discovers that many such men, especially if they be unmarried, are prone to think in terms of matrimony. This realization often comes to American women as a shock. Women religious workers, social workers, night-school teachers, and others report many interesting experiences. Occasionally, a racial intermarriage results.

When the definite suggestion is made to American women that they marry men of other races, they react more quickly against the idea and in a larger percentage of cases than do men to marrying women of other races and religions. The risk is considered greater; mistakes are more serious.

The wish for security is aroused more definitely, and ostracism is more likely.

In large cities, as contrasted with smaller communities, the situation is changing, and racial intermarriage of women with men of other races is apparently increasing. In examining the statistical data regarding marriages in New York City (1908-1912), Dr. Julius Drachsler concludes: "The ratio of intermarriage for women is slightly lower than that for men." He accounts for this result on the ground of "the relatively greater mobility and aggressiveness of the man, and the greater conservatism of the women."¹ If Dr. Drachsler's data had come from rural districts in the United States or from the smaller cities and towns, "the greater conservatism of women" (because of stronger conventions and less mental mobility) would be more evident.

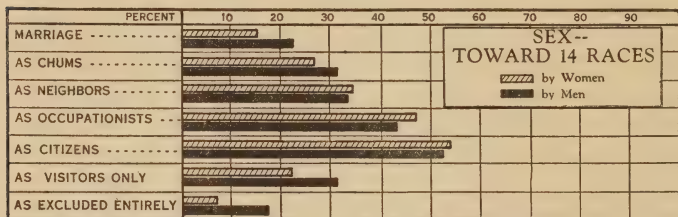
General Racial Reactions of Men and Women.—A tangible method is experimentally possible for comparing the racial attitudes of the two sexes. Graphs IX-XIII are constructed from the recorded racial attitudes of two case groups of one hundred native American men and of one hundred native American women, representing the first two hundred out of a total of 1725. The members of both groups reside in the same regions of the United States, they possess similar degrees of education, they represent the same age-levels, they possess similar race ancestries and religious attitudes. Each group is the first hundred taken from their respective sex classifications.

When the racial attitudes of these men and women toward fourteen selected races² are studied, the degree to which women are more reserved in their reactions regarding marriage and also in the choice of chums is indicated (see columns 1 and 2 in Graphs IX, X, XII, and XIII. Graph

¹ *Democracy and Assimilation*, p. 109. Macmillan, 1920.

² Armenians, Chinese, English, Filipinos, French, Germans, Hindus, Italians, Japanese, Jews (Russian), Mexicans, Negroes, Spanish, Turks.

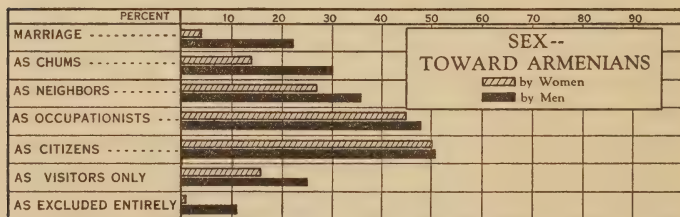
XI is an exception that will be discussed presently.) Women, however, are somewhat more friendly than men in the larger group relationships of life (columns 3, 4, 5, Graph IX); they are less likely to relegate foreigners to the status of "visitors only," and to wish to exclude for-



GRAPH IX

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 100 men and 100 women toward 14 races.

eigners entirely (see columns 6 and 7). Women as a class, therefore, would seem to be somewhat more pronounced than men in certain of their race attitudes. The total



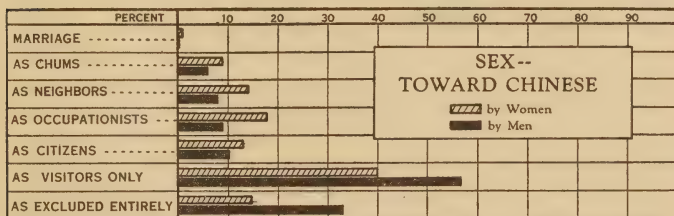
GRAPH X

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 100 men and 100 women toward Armenians.

number of reactions to immigrant races by women is less than the number by men. The explanation is that women have less opportunity than men to make racial contacts. The differences in opportunity and in experience would account for a part of the difference in race attitudes.

Specific Racial Reactions of Men and Women.— If the reactions of men and women to particular races be considered, interesting variations may be noted. Toward Armenians the women are decidedly more reserved (Graph X, columns 1, 2, and 3) than are the men, and at the same time less antagonistic where antipathy would most likely be revealed (columns 6 and 7). They report a greater reluctance to marry or to chum with Armenians than do men, but do not reveal so vigorous an antipathy.

The reactions toward the Chinese (Graph XI) show an abnormal tendency on the part of the American men:



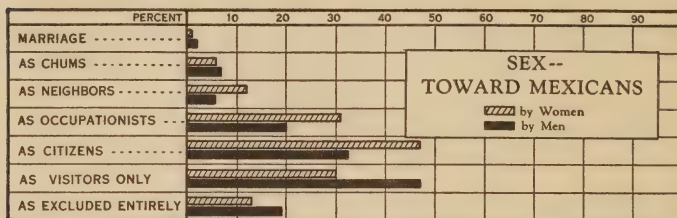
GRAPH XI

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 100 men and 100 women toward Chinese.

namely, an unusually low degree of friendliness (columns 1 to 5 inclusive) and marked antagonism (columns 6 and 7). The women are more friendly than the men, chiefly on the basis of sympathizing with a race without high status. There are few matrimonial advances on the part of the Chinese men, unlike the attitudes of the men of some other races; hence the friendliness of American women operates unhindered.

In regard to Mexicans (Graph XII) the American women are more willing to grant them admission to occupational and citizenship status than are men, and less pronounced in debarring the Mexicans from residence in this country. On the whole, the women take a larger and more wholesome

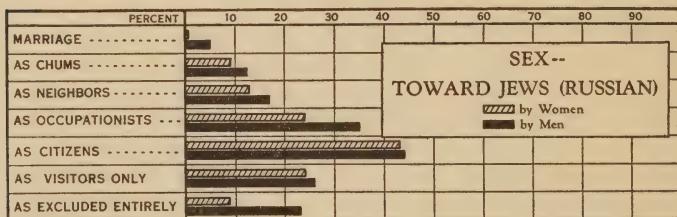
view. The attitudes are somewhat different toward Russian Jews. The women hold back more than men in their friendly attitudes (columns 1 to 5 inclusive). On the other hand, they are not so pronounced in the "exclusion" attitude.



GRAPH XII

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 100 men and 100 women toward Mexicans.

On the whole, therefore, the women under consideration are more reserved than men in their racial attitudes involving marriage and chums, and more friendly in the



GRAPH XIII

Comparison of attitudes of case groups of 100 men and 100 women toward Jews.

larger group aspects of racial reactions. This latter point is also supported by a lesser tendency on the part of women than of men to exclude immigrant races.

In the further consideration of differences in sex reactions

to race, it should also be noted that men's reactions to the men of immigrant races is different from their reactions to the women of those races. "Differences" in the men of immigrant races produce aversive effects on American men, while "differences" in the women of other races are likely to be attractive, although distinctions in culture levels are important. These situations are paralleled in reverse form in the reactions of American women. They view foreign women of culture levels similar to their own somewhat competitively and hence with prejudice, but foreign men of the same culture level as themselves are often attractive, if not "captivating," on occasion.

106. As a man I am frank to say that my feelings toward Spanish women are kindlier than toward Spanish men. The latter seem to me to be smart Alecks, and always playing up to women. To be sure they are daring at times, but because their women folks want them to be that way. Nearly all Spanish men that I know are fine dancers, which after all is a mark of a lady's man. In company I cannot begin to do the "gallant" things that they do. Beside them at a party I seem stupid. But toward Spanish women, I think differently. I'm not sure that I'd want to marry one, but they do captivate me. They have certain sex charms that are hard to get away from. I like to watch them dance, for they are so bodily supple. No, I don't feel the same toward Mexican women, but the ones that I know are not educated and are pretty plain. They aren't in my "set," that's all.³

107. If you had known the nice French men that I have, you would rave about them too. I'm thinking of one right now who knows how to treat a woman right. He is so thoughtful, but not like American men, who are so studied and stiff in everything they do. He is just naturally nice, no effort, knows just what to do for you, before you even think of your own needs. I admire the Frenchman's eyes; they are so sharp and black and flashing. The Frenchman is witty, too. I would be willing to marry one, but for one thing. I would positively draw the line on going over there and living with French women. They don't do anything except dress and dress, and seek the attention of men. I have never seen such a superficial lot as were at R.'s house in Paris last summer.

³ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

They did nothing but talk about men they had danced with. It was positively disgusting. It makes me sick to think about it.⁴

When changes in racial attitudes of the two sexes are considered, other distinctions appear. Table X gives the races toward which both sex groups, in the case studies already described, have experienced the greatest increases in race antipathy during the past five to ten years.

TABLE X
INCREASES IN RACE ANTIPATHY

<i>Reported by 100 American men toward</i>		<i>Reported by 100 American women toward</i>	
Japanese	18	Chinese	18
Chinese	16	Japanese	16
Italians	16	Germans	15
Russians	15	Negroes	15
Turks	15	Turks	14
Mexicans	13	Jews, German	11
French	11	Jews, Russian	11
Jews, Russian	11	Mexicans	10
Jews, German	10	Greeks	6
Negroes	10	Russians	6
Germans	8	Filipinos	5
Hindus	8	Hindus	5
15 other races	32	12 other races	26
Total	183	Total	138

The similarities in these lists are striking. The French and Italians alone are relatively high in the men's list, but do not appear in the women's column. All races toward whom women have grown more antipathetic, however, appear in the men's list. Increases in antipathy are expressed by the men toward 27 races (out of a possible 40) and by the women toward 23 races. A total of 183 adverse changes are reported by the men as compared with a total of 138 adverse changes by the women. A somewhat wider range of direct daily contacts on the part of men accounts for this difference, as indicated by the case-study materials.

⁴ Social Distance Studies.

In the consideration of increases in racial friendliness, it will be seen from Table XI that there are marked variations in the men's and the women's reactions. Six races in the men's group do not appear in the women's list, while eight in the latter list do not appear in the men's column. At any rate there is greater variation than in the men's and women's lists of increases in racial antipathy. All told, the men report increasing friendliness toward 31 races; the women, toward 29—a small increase in the numbers of races as compared with the numbers toward which both sexes reported increases in race antipathy.

TABLE XI

INCREASE IN RACIAL FRIENDLINESS

<i>Reported by 100 American men toward</i>		<i>Reported by 100 American women toward</i>	
Germans	21	Japanese	25
Japanese	13	Negroes	18
Swedish	11	Jews, German	17
Chinese	10	Chinese	16
French	10	Jews, Russian	13
Italian	10	Indians (American) ..	11
Spanish	10	Italians	10
Filipinos	8	Armenians	9
Russians	8	Mexicans	9
English	7	Canadians	8
Czecho-Slovaks	6	Norwegians	8
Indians (American) ..	6	Swedish	8
19 other races	54	17 other races	44
Total	174	Total	196

The men cite 174 friendly changes; the women, 196—a difference in favor of the women. This fact correlates well with the fact that these same men and women reported totals of 183 and 138, respectively, of increases in antipathy. These reports for the 200 persons in question, as judged by research interview data, may be interpreted in two ways: (1) that the women have had a smaller number of contacts with immigrant races than the men have had and (2) that

the women have by nature a more social nature than men possess.

Taken altogether, the data indicate that women react more sympathetically toward immigrants than do men, that they are less favorable toward intermarriage, that women are more subject to adverse sense impressions of immigrants than are men, that women show more antipathy and less prejudice than do men, that women are more favorably responsive to immigrant men of their own or of a higher culture level and less favorably responsive to immigrant women of their own or of a higher culture level than are men.

PROJECTS

1. Interview a man and a woman of your acquaintance concerning their experiences regarding two or three specific races, and write up the two descriptions.

2. Compare in detail the differences involved when a man and woman each marries "out of his or her race."

3. Study the differences in attitudes toward racial intermarriage on the part of women in rural communities and of women in two or more different areas in a city of size.

4. Analyze the relations between the differences in race attitudes of men and women and their differences in culture (including the differences in each sex as subject to social controls, such as conventions).

5. Analyze the differences in the reactions and experiences of any man (or any woman) with reference to the two sexes of a foreign race.

SEX DISTINCTIONS

ABBOTT, GRACE, *The Immigrant and the Community*, Chap. III. Century, 1917.

HASKIN, FREDERICK, *The Immigrant*, Chap. XIX. Revell, 1913.

JOHNSON, CHARLES W., *An Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, pp. 197-210. Knopf, 1927.

KAWAH, Y., "The Japanese Family," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, Vol. VII, pp. 19-22.

LIU, CHIANG, "Chinese versus American Ideas Concerning the Family," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, Vol. X, pp. 41-45.

STEINER, J. F., *The Japanese Invasion*, Chap. IX. McClurg, 1917.

CHAPTER XV

OCCUPATIONAL COMPLEXES

Persons in different occupations make different racial contacts. In certain occupations one immigrant race is more frequently found than in another. Temperament and other inherited behavior patterns, for instance, permit the Slavs to work in steel mills, but keep the Jews and Italians out. An American who works in a steel mill will have first-hand experiences with Slavs, but only hearsay or derivative impressions of Italians or Jews. His attitudes toward all Slavs will be built out of contacts with unlettered Slavs; hence, race misunderstandings may grow out of the fact that one culture level of a given race may be employed in unskilled occupations while another level of the same race is engaged in business and the professions. One person may get his impressions of Slavs as fellow workers, whereas another person may contact them as customers in his store. The priest will contact them as worshippers; the teacher will not contact them, but their children. Thus the same group of unlettered Slavs may be contacted in a dozen or more different connections and become the source of as many different impressions of them. Hence, Americans in the different occupations in which Slavs figure in one way or another will develop different sets of attitudes toward Slavs, and no one of these sets of attitudes will be more than partial. Each will be biased. No one will be entirely representative.

It is not possible or necessary here to discuss the racial attitudes characteristic of each of the six, seven, or more hundred occupations. Only a few occupational

types will be selected; for example, the unskilled worker, the business man, the social worker, the teacher, and the preacher.

Unskilled Labor Contacts. — An American professional man, a business man, or an American woman of middle class or higher status is likely to gain an unfavorable impression when first contacting an unskilled immigrant laborer. To the extent that the latter is uncouth and unkempt humanity in the rough, so far will there be unfavorable reactions. Moreover, his point of view in many things is likely to be narrow and hence repelling. If he has developed a "defeat" psychology and has become disgruntled, he makes an unfavorable impression.

Moreover, even Americans of unskilled labor status will turn against him because of his "foreign" ways, his queer European or oriental customs, his broken English, his garlic-tinged breath, or his wife-beating habits. If the immigrant "works longer hours for less money" than the native-born workman, then the latter's status is invaded, and the immigrant becomes especially repulsive.

Sometimes, the unskilled American works for immigrants who have suddenly or otherwise become wealthy and who display the worst phases of their nature in their contacts with him. Such experiences are especially repelling, for the status of a native who must needs submit to arbitrary control by immigrants is often held in question by his fellow natives.

Unskilled labor contacts frequently lead to racial prejudice because (1) of cultural differences and (2) of invasion of status. People of a higher culture usually harbor feelings of superiority and hence of vertical distance toward those on lower culture levels. An unskilled immigrant labor supply will sooner or later be viewed competitively by native workmen, and thus fear of loss of economic and social status will arise. An American workman reports that he had a job

where Negroes were employed and that he was asked to work beside a Negro at the same bench, but that the particular Negro's attitude of arrogance and superiority soon turned him against the Negro. "His low ideals of morality as evidenced by the stories and experiences he told gave me the impression that all Negroes were bad." An American employed in a mountain recreation camp came in contact as a waiter with a number of "got-rich-quick" Jews. His prejudice was aroused against them, because they were "far from backward and would monopolize every evening of the week with their silly rabblings if they were permitted, and were continually fussing about their accommodations and about getting their money's worth." The manager could not talk to them, "for they were so wishy-washy that they would squirm out of everything." Thus the account runs and reveals a rising tide of antagonism towards all Jews.

108. For three summers I worked on a section gang of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad; so naturally I worked with a lot of Mexicans and Italians. It was during these two summers that my dislike for the Mexicans arose. They are, in the first place, very dirty. Their cars are never clean. Their women are not only immoral but just as dirty as the men. At least, this is the case with those with whom I have had some association. I do not mean to say that there were not some good Mexicans, but I believe that the general run of them that migrate to the United States are of the type I have known. One summer, that of 1925, I worked in a wire mill at Sterling, Illinois, where I again worked alongside of Mexicans and had a chance to see their living conditions. They were the same as the ones I noted in the section gang. There is another reason why I don't like them; they are very illiterate. They do not learn English any more than they have to. Their women will learn just so much, enough so that they can tell the butcher or grocer what they want.¹

109. As long as I can remember, my father has always taught me never to draw the line between any of the races or creeds, mainly because we are of a persecuted race and because men should be judged by what they are worth as men rather than by their

¹ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

race. Therefore, it is a difficult task for me to tell of my increased dislike for any race in the last five years.

This summer my father gave me a job in his plant as a common day laborer to work by the side of all types of men and races. While working I came to care less for the Mexicans than I did before. It was for this reason: They knew I was a boss's son who was on their own plane during the working period and that in many cases I had to take advice from them, so they saw to it that they would demonstrate to me how clever they were as compared to me. If I had a job to perform with a Mexican, he would grab for the easiest the first thing and force me to struggle with something he knew more about than I.

I would not have noticed this in them if all the men in my father's shop were that way, but the white men always told me in a pleasing manner and sought to show me the ways and means, whereas the Mexicans always sneered at me and wanted me to know I was subordinate to them. As a matter of fact, I never minded the whole situation, because I had a purpose in my work, that of learning the routine at bottom, and also a chance to size up men. My conclusion was that I am not as prone to trust the "peon" Mexican as I was before this summer.²

Business and Employer Contacts.—Business men contact immigrants on levels of trade where each party looks out for himself, where each thinks in buying or selling, where material interests are usually in the foreground. Consequently the American business man does not always gain a fair impression of immigrants. It is as a profit-maker that he makes his contacts with them, and hence they do not always disclose their best nature to him.

Business men in dealing with immigrants who are in business often report unpleasant relationships. American customers in trading with immigrant merchants often react against them. Jews, Syrians, Armenians, and others are criticized for having two or more prices for the same piece of merchandise. "They have to be jewed down, you cannot trust them, they are 'foreigners.' " In these remarks, great social distance is evident. There has been little or no at-

² *Ibid.*

tempt to understand the immigrant's culture and the reasons for his "many prices." Moreover, Americans who have worked for immigrant merchants have turned against the "shrewd" type. The immigrant in business situations is easily misunderstood, and is likely to show his "worst" nature, or perhaps unwittingly creates antipathy against his race.

Competition, underselling, and loss of business status are often experienced by American business men when the immigrant sets himself up in business. Considerable prejudice against the Jewish business man arises in this way. On the whole, however, the main factor figuring in wide racial distances that develop in business relations is difference in cultures.

110. I actually hate to see the majority of them (Jews) come into the store. They expect you to wait on them first, and let the others go. No matter what you do for them they are never satisfied. They enter the store with a sarcastic expression on their faces that makes you want to throw them out. They usually get excited and become very insulting.

The most puzzling of all to me is the fact that they can't get along among themselves. I may have been rather hasty in forming this opinion; but I have lived all my life in one racial group to which I belong, and my bitter experiences with the Jewish people this winter have forced this conclusion upon me.

I have many Jewish friends that I like very much, but the group that I have criticized is the race as a whole as I see them and deal with them every day. I hate to hold such a feeling toward any race and I hope that time will overcome it.³

111. It was my experience while working for a concern that I came in contact with the Russian Jews, and because of this I have formed a very unfavorable opinion and dislike for them. My acquaintance with the Russian Jews happened to be in the grocery business at L. Their peculiarities are very similar to the regular type that most of us have come in contact with at one time or other. They are very shrewd in business, especially in the buying part of the business. If you could show them a profit or give them

³ Social Distance Studies.

a discount, you could always sell them by explaining in detail the principle of profit. Their temper was very easily aroused, and one would have to use tact in order not to say anything that dealt with their nationality or with their personal nature. They are not a pleasant people to carry on a conversation with, because they never have anything to talk about, except business and their hard luck. They lack sociability and are backward in adopting new customs.

The Russian Jews appreciate service but never return it. Service and profit are the two things which can gain their confidence. Once having their confidence, you can carry on very successful business dealings.

These Jewish people generally have three or four children playing in their place of business, and the parents are very strict regarding the obedience of their children. They are very religious and never fail to live up to their customs and traditions. The Russian Jews are very unneat in appearance and lack the principles of hygiene. The main objection of having them in this country is that they control most of the large manufacturing concerns and that the American merchant cannot face their competition because of their close dealings.⁴

Still another angle is represented by the business man who breaks across social distances and learns to understand the immigrants with whom he deals. Where *rapport* is once established, then the merchant-immigrant contacts become freer, defense mechanisms are relaxed, and race attitudes become favorable. Behind these favorable reactions, as a rule, are behavior patterns of race friendliness. Many business men are accustomed to treat all comers on a racial brotherhood basis and to overlook or to discount racial peculiarities. A business man of broad outlook and kindly insight reports that he has sold Ford cars to many Japanese and that, in dealing with them, he finds that on the whole they are very serious and that they try hard to meet their payments. When they have a crop failure, they come at once to him and ask for an extension of time. "At no time in the past years of my business connections and dealings

⁴ *Ibid.*

with them, have I known a Japanese to run away with a car or in any way to try to escape paying the bill."

112. Although I have not had very close contact with Japanese in southern California, they have impressed me as being a far better race than they are credited with being. Arriving in Los Angeles six years ago, I was told about the attempts of Japanese to obtain a foothold in southern California. I pictured them as aggressive land-grabbers who were seeking to drive out the Californians through trickery. I now have much respect for the Japanese who come to this country.

I began to reverse my attitude towards the Japs when I was an employee for a laundry company during the summer months. I delivered to many Japanese and Mexicans, besides Americans. In collecting bills the Japs were always prompt and honest; they wanted to pay all they owed. The Mexicans, however, avoided their bills and often attempted to cheat me. The honesty of the Japs soon became apparent.

I have watched the Japs work in their fields; they are hard workers and are deserving of every cent they make. Americans would never work as the Japs do. Vegetables raised by Japs are cheaper, too, than those raised by Americans.

A few months ago, in a time of great need, I was obliged to call on a Japanese girl to do some work for me. I had been warned previously that the girl was lazy and would not be of much use. I decided to take a chance on her. After telling her the importance of haste and quality in her work, I put her on her own initiative and encouraged her to use her own ideas. The result was that the girl did her work on time and did more than she was asked. I found her as fine a co-worker as any American girl could have been. I found the Jap girl to be as human as any of my own race and that by giving my best to her she was more than willing to give her best to me.⁵

113. Probably the most vivid experiences were with the Greeks whom I came in contact with in business relations. Last year I was out of school and worked in a grocery store of a small Kansas town of seven thousand inhabitants. Now there were in the town two Greek-owned confectionaries, one Greek café, and two Greek-owned billiard parlors.

In the course of my clerking I found ready and shrewd customers

⁵ *Ibid.*

in the owners of this café, who to my surprise were willing to purchase canned goods and vegetables of the better qualities if the right price were quoted to them. And, too, as I sold goods to these patrons, I soon realized that it was the rule at their café to buy the best for their money.

So when I would wish to eat out at some café, I would go to their café to eat and soon grow to understand the much-abused Greek and found that he is ardently persistent in attempting to learn our language and to become an American citizen; he is willing to do many favors for any one who aids him.

Then, too, I learned also that the Greek, contrary to popular opinion, is always willing to back community enterprises and boost the town by aiding financially and otherwise in the promotion of civic festivities.

As for the actual household trading with the Greeks who ran the confectionaries and cafés, I also found the Greek willing to try to adapt himself to the American standard of living, though he seems to have a particular liking to vegetables and fruits in preference to canned goods. Contrary to what people generally think, the Greek even in his household trading, seems to prefer quality before quantity.

And too, in course of conversations with the Greeks while doing their trading, I found that they were quite normal, though shy, and resented very much any reference to the fact that the posting of their old national flag and emblems in their businesses with Old Glory meant that they still owed their allegiance to their "Fatherland."⁶

Social Work Contacts. — Social workers, engaged in what is primarily a "nonprofit-giving" occupation, are, on the whole, of a friendly sort. The immigrant when in need is in a receptive, not in a defensive mood. The social worker's contact with him is, as a rule, on a more favorable side than the business man's contact. He is seen in a suppressed, defeated rôle, needing and responding to help. He reacts to the social worker somewhat in the same way that a sick person does to a physician. Thus, the social worker develops favorable racial attitudes. Moreover, the social worker goes out to meet his clients, with friendly expectancy. His pre-

⁶ Social Distance Studies.

vailing attitudes, barring accident, will naturally arouse friendly responses.

On the other hand, the social worker may be taken advantage of by pseudosocial immigrants. A certain percentage of charity recipients are "fakers" and deliberately seek to take advantage of the social worker. In immigrant cases of this type the social worker is likely to react adversely. Hence the social worker's contacts with immigrants may lead to race antipathy.

114. Since childhood I had a fixed notion that all Mexicans were bad. As I grew older, "Mexican" to me meant "undesirable." Since coming to California three years ago, I have concluded that the only excuse for my opinion of these people was my ignorance. One of the first things that impressed me in working with the Mexicans is the wonderful loyalty they show toward the family or friends in trouble. Another thing, while they never save a penny, the majority make some provisions for the rainy day, through small insurance or in buying a home. As a rule they have "grit," too; they will stand a lot of pain without a groan. As compared with other classes there are few cases of child desertion; they are devoted to their children, although they may be ignorant of ways for promoting their health and happiness. And so after three years observation I must say the Mexican has more good in him than I ever thought.⁷

115. Upon coming to California, I believed the Mexicans to be immoral and lazy and dirty. In my five years as social-case worker my vision has become more tolerant. In fact I am fond of the race — "with all their faults I love them still." To me they are a race of emotional, brown people who bury their emotions partly from pride and partly from shyness of the Americans. Great loyalty and love of family are manifest, with the men caressing and caring deeply for their children, sharing their last tortilla with even a stranger in the home.

A large percentage of my Mexican mothers are clean housekeepers, but they do not feel it necessary to rally themselves to any effort outside of their simple home duties. They like to use spare time crocheting elaborate and useless tidies, but of course that is due to their protected home life, no matter how poverty-stricken they may be.

⁷ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

One great surprise this winter was given the welfare bureau when our unemployed Mexican men came regularly and promptly at 8 A.M. to go to the city wood pile for work in exchange for their food and rent. A surprising issue in two instances where the men were particularly reticent is that we learned that they were sensitive because they had to receive relief. We often believe these people have but little humor, but there is a keen sense of clean, wholesome humor in their lives.⁸

Teacher Contacts.—Teachers are not only in a “non-profit-giving” occupation, but they are dealing chiefly with children rather than with adults. As contrasted with social workers who often give money and temporary relief and thus may be deliberately “worked,” the teacher usually has only instruction to give. The teacher in dealing with children gains more favorable race impressions on the whole than if he were working with the rank and file of adult immigrants. Children are developing, while parents are more likely to have fixed habits.

Immigrant parents are grateful to teachers for the interest that the latter take in their children, and thus teachers may easily develop favorable racial attitudes. Little children whatever their race are often judged “cute” and interesting, and hence teachers may receive appreciative expressions from almost any race and in turn develop friendly attitudes toward that race. In their occupational training and outlook, teachers develop friendly behavior patterns. These serve as excellent mechanisms for making friendly responses to immigrants.

A teacher reports that she has the most friendly feeling toward the Japanese because of her fondness for Japanese children. “Their cuteness appeals to me.” Later, she had some Japanese boys in her room at school and found them “most easy to work with and so willing to study their lessons. A teacher just can’t help loving a child who always tries to get his lessons.” Later she became acquainted with

⁸ *Ibid.*

adult Japanese; and although they do not have "that likableness in them that there is in the children, they do all they can to please you, and you soon find as I did that they are very desirable friends." Of all occupational groups public-school teachers report the greatest fondness for immigrant children. Immigrant children of certain races, such as Japanese children, are more courteous than American-born or American-reared children, and consequently teachers respond to them more extensively.

A public-school teacher suddenly found herself in charge of a room of twenty-nine Mexican and two Russian children in a sixth-grade classroom. Up to that time she had never given Mexicans any thought and had no particular reactions. They were foreign to her past life. She soon became fond of her Mexican children, at first on the grounds of pity more than for any other reason. When she visited their homes and found a family of ten living in one small room which contained one old bed, an old broken-down stove, and no other furniture, she was moved to help them out. They seemed very appreciative and showed that appreciation by doing things for the school in return. They were found to have a "peculiar" disposition, but "if one learns how to handle them, one can make true friends of them." In this statement notice that the wish to make friends with them is present. "I guess that just coming in contact with these people, becoming acquainted with the families, working with them, has made me like them."

116. The first Japanese child I became acquainted with was a Japanese boy who was about fourteen years of age. He arrived at school one morning able to speak only a few words of our language. He was a fine-looking lad, very muscular and indeed physically well fit. The teacher who was very young was indeed having a new experience in teaching, as I know this was her first attempt in teaching a foreign pupil from Japan. The boy was here to learn, to become a citizen, and to be a loyal American man right from the start, because the first thing he wanted our teacher to do

was to give him an English given name; and she did. She named him George. George started in at first grade and within a short time was in high school. It seems like a fairy tale but a true one, as he had that spirit of success that will make any one gain in this work if the right perseverance is ever present. George was a perfectly normal boy, not a bookworm but of that type who works when he should work and plays when he should play. He became a brother to us all. He entered in all our games. We children never even thought that he should play by himself and live in a place in the world away from us. This racial conflict did not enter into our lives. He helped and respected us, and we helped and respected him. I can always remember George as a true and faithful worker, because, if our teacher ever wanted anything done in the school room or school grounds, George's hand was one of the first to be noticed.⁹

117. I had an unfavorable attitude toward the colored population until I was assigned to teach a colored class in an evening school. I had expected the class to be of foreigners; and when the principal told me that it was of colored people, I should have resigned had I not wanted the salary too badly. It was hard to keep the tears back at first. Then I overheard one woman say to another, "I'se says to her." It brought to me recollections of the soft drawl of mother's old colored coachman. I had delighted in his society as a child. Surely I could find some element of interest in this colored class.

I deliberately set to work to unlearn all the lessons my mother had taught me about the Negroes. They were so responsive that they stimulated me to further efforts in their behalf, and before I realized it I was supremely happy among "my people" in the night school.

There were a group of colored boys in the neighborhood who had served in the last war. They had gotten away from their local neighborhood and had become accustomed to something better. It was decidedly distasteful to them to return to their previous occupations and unsanitary ways of living. Together we made a survey of the kinds and qualities of occupations open to colored men in L. at that time. Civil-service positions as post-men seemed to offer the brightest future. Therefore, my class definitely took up the task of preparing those boys to pass the civil-service examinations for such positions.

Today I often meet one of "my boys" in the uniform of a

⁹ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

United States postman. It is difficult to tell which of us is most delighted by such a meeting.¹⁰

The rôle played by basic behavior patterns of type is seen in the following case. The sudden contact with repulsive living conditions of the given immigrants was fatal to favorable responses. The unfavorable reactions became "fixated." Behind this fixation was, of course, a narrow life pattern.

118. I have the most dislike for the Mexicans, and I believe the reason for this is that, when I was doing my cadet teaching in the normal school, I was sent to A. Street School one and one-half hours daily to do my practice teaching. My training teacher believed I should have a variety of experiences. I had a B1 class of fifty, mostly Mexicans, a few Russians, etc., mixed in, but not a single white. Part of my daily work was to go to the homes of the absent ones and look up the reasons for such, and never in my life did I see such filth and poverty — children sleeping in heaps of dirty rags on floors with rats running across, and not a single window for ventilation, and babies chewing crusts and dirty bits of food picked out of the gutters. Well, after these visits, I certainly felt like a thorough cleaning up for myself. Back at school, once each week, I had to help scrub the little ones, get them out of their clothes in which they were sewed-up, de-animalize their heads by various methods, etc. I suppose now I am glad for those early experiences and a look into the seamy side of life, but it has turned me against the Mexicans for all times. Of course, I see many nice clean ones, but cannot help thinking of my first experiences with the race. They seem to be a people who do not wish to be bettered much. They live from hand to mouth, and are good beggars, and will accept all you give them, and then some. They are very childlike and dependable, and are quite contented in their filth and poverty. I do not feel we can do much for them.¹¹

The racial reactions of a case group of young clergymen are the most favorable of all. The actual experiences of the young minister with immigrant races may be very limited, but in such as have occurred, he has approached the im-

¹⁰ Social Distance Studies.

¹¹ Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1925.

migrant in a markedly idealistic attitude. The immigrant has responded with special deference. To him a religious representative is one to bow down before, or else to keep entirely away from. Thus the contacts of the minister have often occurred when the minister has been most idealistic in his behavior and the immigrant has been most deferent. Each meets the other on a superior plane of conduct. The young minister's friendly attitudes are especially noticeable, but these are partly explained by a desire to study the immigrant or possibly even to proselyte him. The limited antipathy is an expression of the brotherhood-of-man doctrine and of an unwillingness to exclude from one's country a whole race purely on racial grounds. The rôle that ministers' opinions, as contrasted with their attitudes, has played in these cases has not been easy to determine.

Occupational divisions and racial cleavages often occur along the same lines. The members of the races against which prejudice is most frequently expressed are debarred from certain occupations, particularly from the professions. As a result, they first grow discouraged and then antagonistic toward the social order that is holding them back. About the best, for instance, that a colored boy may look forward to in many cities is that of being a janitor or an elevator boy at eighty or ninety dollars a month; but "if there is any family at all, this income is not sufficient, and the wife must work while the children go to the devil."

119. The colored boy comes back worse oftener than better. The reason for this is that the white boy is taught a trade, but the colored fellow is taught to be a cook or a porter on the pullman. This does not appeal to the colored boy. He wants to do the same thing that the others do; and when he can't, he loses heart and gets discouraged, and goes from bad to worse. He gets indifferent to punishment or to social disapproval, and when he gets out he is reckless. Prison has no terrors for him. Why should he worry? There is no future for him anyway.¹²

¹² *Ibid.*

120. There's very little advancement for me. A chum of mine has been working for years for an air compressor company. He started out as a delivery boy, and never worked up. He is an expert mechanic, but he is still at the salary of a delivery boy. The boss tells him when there is an opening next time he'll be promoted, but many next times have come and gone and he is still a delivery boy. Oh, education is all right at any time; but I think that when I graduate from high school, I'll go in business with my father and brother. I work after school, but the only thing I can get working for a white man is washing cars. You have no idea how it feels to know that people look down upon you. I don't always remember it. I don't carry it with me all the time, but it stares me in the face, and people demonstrate their prejudice in many ways.¹³

As the demand for laborers varies, the racial reactions vary. As unemployment increases, competition develops and prejudice multiplies. Restrictions are made on racial bases.

121. There are a number of reasons for the unemployment. Whenever work for the whites becomes scarce, they crowd over and take our jobs and put us out of work. Many of our positions are now filled with white men and women. The maids in the big department stores used to be Negroes, but are now white girls; the waiters in the big restaurants used to be colored, but are now white, and so on through the list. We do not complain, but it is very hard not to be able to get work to buy food to eat.¹⁴

As occupations vary, so racial attitudes are different. Invasion of the status of natives is an offense that any ambitious immigrant is likely to commit — without knowing it. As the types of social relationships vary from occupation to occupation, so special or peculiar racial attitudes will crop out. To understand and to cope with these attitudes adequately, it is necessary to know the occupational attitudes and values characteristic of each occupation. Racial attitudes are often to be accounted for in terms of the occupa-

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

tional contacts of natives with immigrants. It is not the immigrant *per se* so much as it is the occupational relationships which he holds to the natives that explain his racial prejudice or friendliness.

PROJECTS

1. Interview a number of persons in a selected occupation concerning their new experiences, and analyze the results.
2. Compare occupational variations in race attitudes with regional distinctions in as many ways as possible.
3. Compare the occupational attitudes of a business man whom you know, at as many points as possible with those of a college or university teacher, also of your acquaintance.
4. Choose some one person, and analyze the relationships between his occupational and his domestic or family attitudes.
5. Analyze the connections between a selected person's occupational and religious attitudes of life.
6. Select an occupation not discussed in this chapter, and make a study of occupational attitudes peculiar to it.
7. Choose a definite occupational attitude of a selected person and write its "life history."

OCCUPATIONAL COMPLEXES

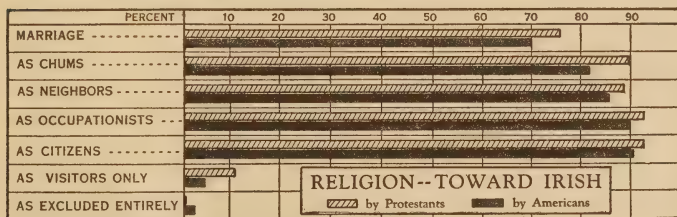
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CHAPTER XVI

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

When the racial attitudes of people are compared according to their religious divisions, differences are evident, but these are not as extensive as might be expected. Among 1725 Americans whose racial attitudes have been studied the larger religious divisions are represented — Protestant, Catholic, Christian Science, Jewish. Moreover, a large percentage or approximately one-half of the total number profess no religious connections.

Specific Distinctions. — In studying the racial attitudes, for instance, of the Protestants and Catholics as case groups, we observe that the former are as racially friendly as the



GRAPH XIV

Comparison of attitudes of a case group of 100 Protestant Americans and a total of 1725 Americans.

latter toward the French (Catholic). Similarly, the Catholic group is almost as friendly as is the Protestant group toward the English (Protestant). Graph XIV visualizes the similarity in the racial relations of 1725 Americans and of a case group of the first 100 Protestants of the 1725, whose racial attitudes toward the Irish (Catholics) were studied.

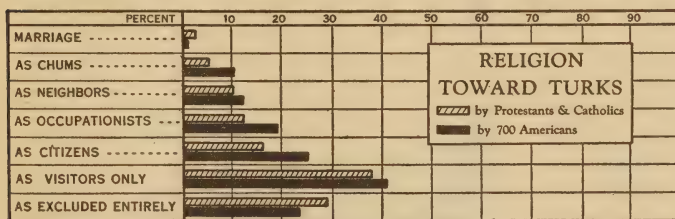
Personal interview materials secured from the case group afford explanatory data. The questions raised by a Protestant regarding a Frenchman, or by a Catholic concerning an Englishman, usually are, in effect: "What kind of a person is he?" "Is he reliable?" "Can he be trusted?" Outside of certain situations involving church competition, the world plans of the pope, or the special Ku Klux Klan activities, the question of religion ordinarily takes a secondary place, or else it is counterbalanced by other factors. There are, however, some persons who, for instance, have a strong anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant complex and who raise the religious question first and the personality question second.

The large numbers of persons who profess no religion make few distinctions regarding the religious beliefs of different races. They do not seem to care about what a man believes so much as what he does and how he behaves in social situations. They have strong prejudices against religious zealots of any race.

When a case group of the first 200 Protestants and Catholics (equally distributed) are taken from the 1725 Americans and their racial reactions are compared with the reactions of the 1725, the results do not show outstanding distinctions. The 1725 Americans are about as friendly (or as antipathetic) to Negroes, for instance, as are the Protestant and Catholic Christians taken as a single group. Surprising as it may appear, religious attitudes do not play the rôle that might be anticipated, or else they are neutralized. Religious attitudes seem to be often dominated by other factors. Life history materials indicate that the profession of religion by many persons is largely "opinion" rather than "attitude." When the test comes, no one in the South and few if any persons in the better "white" neighborhoods of the North want a Negro family "to move in next door." "Property depreciates." "Other Negroes will

come in." "I'll have to move out." These are responses given by both Christians and non-Christians alike. Certain social and economic factors (environmental) often constitute pressures that dominate religious motivation. Much of the religious feeling of brotherhood and of Christian duty operates better at a distance than it does with reference to "undesirable next-door neighbors."

Religious Antipathies. — In regard to attitudes toward Turks, the reactions of the group of 200 Protestants and Catholics are on the whole less friendly than the reactions of the 1725 Americans (Graph XV). The persecutions of



GRAPH XV

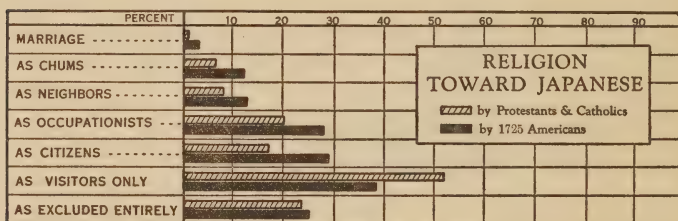
Comparison of attitudes of a case group of 200 Protestant and Catholic Americans with a total of 1725 Americans.

the Christian Armenians by the Mohammedan Turks have influenced American Christians to fear all Turks. They have quite naturally become less socialized (and less Christian) than non-Christians in their attitudes toward the Turks.

Moreover, there are many Christians to whom the term "Turk" visualizes "Mohammedan," the enemy of Christianity. Mohammedanism is thought of as a bloody religion determined to make its way to world domination by the sword. Hence, to such Christians, the Turk is symbolic of a religious movement that is a powerful competitor. The Christian fears a loss of status for his religion whenever in person or in image the Turk appears.

On the other hand, there are Americans, mostly non-Christians, to whom the Turk does not stand as a religious competitor at all. He is viewed merely as a member of another race and hence less antagonistically than if considered as a competitor. There are some American non-Christians who through travel or otherwise have come to think highly of Turks. They prefer them to Armenians and Greeks. Such persons lower the average antipathy rating given the Turk by the 1725 Americans.

Again, there are less friendly reactions expressed toward the Japanese by the group of Protestants and Catholics than by the total group of Americans (Graph XVI). The life



GRAPH XVI

Comparison of attitudes of 200 Protestant and Catholic Americans with a total of 1725 Americans.

histories show that many Christians, while professing race friendliness, waver when it comes to viewing the Japanese as citizens of the United States, as neighbors on the same street, and so forth. Some declare that "the Japanese immigrant is a Buddhist," and as such must be kept at a distance at all costs, even of religious profession. The Japanese is viewed as a religious competitor by many Christians and thus is placed at a greater social distance than by non-Christian Americans.

Many of the latter type of Americans raise no objection to the Japanese as Buddhists. Some even think that Bud-

dhism would make a better religion for America than Christianity, and hence do not react on religious grounds against the Japanese as do Christians.

Religious Conflicts. — Persons of Christian beliefs, particularly Christian leaders, are making strenuous efforts to overcome the racial prejudices that are felt and expressed within Christian ranks. But even when they do their best, the problem bobs up.

122. I am a Christian leader, member of a church, and trying to live the teachings of Christ, but I don't want a big, burly Negro to sit down beside me in a street car or even in church. I feel like getting up and moving, even if I know that I ought not to. Ashamed, yes, but I'd rather contribute to social work among the Negroes than to do it myself. When the members of my boys' club ask me if I would want Negroes for neighbors, I blurt out, "No," and then hasten to explain that *I* wouldn't mind, but it is other people who compel me to protest. Not long ago it was reported that a Negro family was moving in, and I secretly gave aid to those protesting, although I did not sign the petition. I explained how my position would not permit me to sign. And yet I am a Christian, from northern Ohio.¹

123. A group of six colored Hi-Y fellows from the N. Branch of the Y. M. C. A. attended the Hi-Y Camp at C. They were six out of one hundred ten boys. All the others were white. In trying to break the isolation, the camp director placed the Negroes around with the other white fellows in the various tents. On the surface, everything was all right, but underneath everything was wrong. These colored boys were socially isolated at the camp. Every white boy tried to make the colored boys feel as one of them, but it was impossible. There was a barrier that couldn't be broken down.²

The wide differences in point of view of persons of various religious faiths is repeatedly indicated when our race attitude data are studied comparatively. Every religion has narrow-minded racial bigots; likewise each has world-minded spokesmen. Statements from a cosmopolitan Christian and a Buddhist illustrate the latter point well.

¹ Social Distance Studies.

² *Ibid.*

124. As an immigrant I have seen several religions in operation in different countries. As a soldier in the World War, I have seen three or four religions tested out. As an adopted citizen of the United States, I would like to see Christianity win out, but let people of all religions come, even Buddhists, Mohammedans, and the rest, and let all have a fair show. My childhood days were spent in a Congregational home, and I believe that Congregationalism will ultimately become the world religion — at least, deep in my heart, I hope so.³

125. Individuals differ in every aspect. There must be as much difference in religion as in individuals, to suit their minds. I do not believe that there is only one religion which is perfect and best. The truth is one, but the way to attain the truth is not a single path.

The thing I want to mention here is that I often meet persons who firmly believe that Christianity is the only right religion. They consider the persons who are not Christians as wrong beings. They show an antagonistic attitude to the non-Christian groups. I know this is not the world ideal of religious freedom. No broad-minded people accept one religion for all, but, in fact, I do not meet such persons in Christian people, who are very narrow-minded. I am sure there are just as narrow-minded persons in the Buddhist groups also, and I believe this is the greatest weakness of us — to feel the superiority of our own group.⁴

Racial attitudes when coupled with religion vary according to the degree to which a person's religion faces competition. Even a religion founded on broad race principles becomes exceedingly narrow and intolerant when its back is against a wall. As a person's religious attitudes sometimes shift according to the fight which he is making for social status, so his racial attitudes likewise respond. The fight for status may overrule religious ideals and even destroy racial tolerance.

PROJECTS

1. Study the life history of a selected person, and analyze all the relations of religious factors to racial attitudes.

2. Compare religious factors with (a) occupational and (b) with regional factors in their influence on racial attitudes.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

3. Compare the conditions under which religious attitudes are coupled with narrow racial attitudes, with conditions when religion and broad racial attitudes are found together.

4. Analyze carefully and compare the experiences of two persons where race attitudes are contrary to religious principles that are professed.

5. Compare three or more well-known religions, with reference to both favorable and unfavorable racial attitudes that have been carried into action by the representatives of each during the past centuries.

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PART IV
ADJUSTMENT

CHAPTER XVII

PERSONALITY AND RACE PROBLEMS

After all, racial problems are personality problems. They originate in personal experiences, either direct or derivative. They begin and end in social situations with persons the main actors. They involve changes in the racial attitudes of persons, reversals in these attitudes, development of new or augmentations of old attitudes. Adjustments of racial problems imply changes in personal attitudes. The reduction of these problems depends upon an intensive understanding of the disturbing centers of all human attitudes: namely, personality clashes.

A clash may be defined as the coming together of two dissimilar forces. A personality clash may be thought of as the contacting of two human beings possessing antagonizing behavior traits. The general type may be illustrated by the case of the thin, angular, freckle-faced, dirty immigrant boy who walked into a public-school classroom at the beginning of the school year. The teacher was a prim, precise spinster who had been accustomed only to "cultured children." She looked critically over the room and saw the uncleanly lad. She noticed his unkempt hair, and his yellow teeth. He glanced at her, heard her strange, snappy voice, and shifted uneasily in his seat. Like Skee-zix of cartoon fame, on one occasion, "he felt that he was going to be the cause of impending trouble."

The personality clash was on, though neither teacher nor boy had said a word to the other. Neither even knew the other by name, but each had experienced an unpleasant, disagreeable picture of the other. Earlier unpleasant fixa-

tions on the part of both may have been aroused, and without rationalization, mutually antagonistic feelings were set in motion. The clash assumed overt proportions on slight provocation, and a long-term conflict became established.

Temperament and Culture. — A personality clash may often be traced back to differences in standards of physical appearance, of body care, and of culture status. The origins may be similar to a child's dislike for particular foods, involving bio-chemical factors. The processes are opposite to those of "falling in love." "To fall in hate" is as normal as "to fall in love." A study of either process will throw light on the other.

Again, a personality clash may arise out of normal social situations. An illustration has already been given of one common type of situation; namely, that involving immigrant children and the public school. Another common situation is that in which immigrant children clash with native-born adults, thus creating "neighborhood rows." An immigrant boy was innocently standing on a neighbor's lawn one Saturday afternoon. The neighbor made a petulant remark to the boy, and the boy's Italian temperament "fired up." The neighbor replied angrily, seeing in the boy numerous disagreeable traits. The boy then began to act "mean," and the neighbor yelled something about "Dago kid." The boy was off his guard, and the neighbor was having an off-day. A boy's restless energy and a man's previous experiences of being annoyed were important factors. In other words, the setting for a personality clash was complete. The necessary conditions had been operative for some time, and on the given day, the juxtaposition of temperament and conditions for a clash was perfect.

Personality clashes of a neighborhood variety are often due to differences in racial temperament and culture backgrounds. "Those horrid R.'s — they throw ashes out into the street — I'd like to teach them a lesson." But the su-

perior way in which the "instruction" is given brings more ashes out into the street. Consequently the police are sent for. Mrs. R. knows who telephoned the police, and a whole set of personality clashes become "fixed." In the European peasant village from which the R.'s came, they had been required to put ashes in the street (as a substitute for paving); in this country they had done likewise with a calm assurance that had been unduly jarred by the superior "instructions" from their American neighbor.

Personality clashes between members of different races may be accounted for by the exhibition of sheer disagreeable attitudes on the part of one or the other party to the conflict. "He was a smart Aleck," said an American, after trading with a Japanese vegetable dealer. "Those remarks of his were uncalled for. I'm not going there again. I can't help it, and I know that it isn't fair, but I think of the whole Japanese race in terms of him and his disagreeableness." A man trading for the first time at a certain German store, referred to the proprietor's gruff manner and said: "I'll not go in there again, not even if the goods are superior."

126. Where we used to live there was a Greek store in the neighborhood. It was filthy and untidy, but we often traded with them because it was the only fruit stand near by. Several times they short-measured our things, but we said nothing. One time they short-pounded me about one-half of a pound of peas, and I thought then it was time to say something. He was very disagreeable so that I felt that I was not wanted in his store anyhow. After that I traded there as little as possible, but when I did he gave me the feeling of dislike. He made me feel that he was doing me a favor, whereas I was doing him a favor by trading there.¹

The loss of one's status is often sufficient to lead to a personality clash, especially so if the loss has been caused by the activity or success of a "foreigner." A broad-minded American youth felt a liking for a capable, well-mannered

¹ Social Distance Studies.

Japanese boy, until he was defeated by the latter in a swimming match. He could not bear to think he had been defeated by a "Jap," nor could he bear to hear the cheering for the Japanese boy. This cheering caused a "violent feeling of hatred to rise in my breast against him. His smile aroused my hatred all the more." The American boy avoided meeting the Japanese student, and the latter in turn ceased to pay any attention to the former. They have not spoken to each other for two years.

Racial differences in temperament are causal factors in personality clashes. The talkativeness of the members of one race is poison to a quiet-demeanored people. Reticence on the part of immigrants is misinterpreted as "subtleness," "grouchiness," or plain stupidity. By virtue of these false interpretations of personality traits, human patience is unnecessarily tried to the point of creating conflict conditions.

127. He approached me in a fine spirit and told me how far he had come to see me. He was well dressed and showed an active-mindedness that pleased me greatly. He is going to be my star pupil, I soliloquized. In class he sat near the front, which pleased me. He was Greek, and so could contribute a great deal to the class discussion. Presently, however, the other students began to protest against his "talkativeness" and his tendency to "argue." "He bores us to death," they said, and I wondered what could be done. I asked him, along with the others, to make an investigation in a field in which I thought that he would be particularly interested, but he declined. He grew disappointed in the class and I in him. He wanted to talk and argue, and I wanted him to do research and present the findings—without "talking and arguing." That was fifteen years ago, but I have had the situation almost literally duplicated several times since, although my last Greek was not of this type at all, but a scientific investigator.²

Personality clashes occur within immigrant homes, because the children often represent new world ways, while the parents maintain old world patterns. These differences lead

² Social Distance Studies.

to misunderstandings and personality clashes. The chasm widens.

An immigrant boy may become a conscious and self-important leader in the home, and the training process may be reversed. He will take no orders from his "ignorant parents," who lose complete control over him. If he earns money, he feels still more independent. He makes rapid strides in learning "undesirable" American ways. The interests of the boy and his parents grow far apart, and they become strangers within the same home. A personality clash reaches the point where the parent despairingly says: "He's no good. We can do nothing for him."

Social distance is created by the children's rising tide of knowledge of the American's language, amusements, and other customs. The very land which the immigrant parents look forward to as giving their children opportunities which they did not have, steals these children from them, and many of them spend their last days in isolation from their own children. The children turn against their parents because the parents have become "old fogies." One immigrant boy bluntly says: "My parents don't know anything. I am under no obligations to them, and why should I submit to ignorant authority?" A Jewish social worker reports that in her district nearly every Jewish home has a car, even among the poorer people, where they have second-hand Fords, but "even these tend to separate the children from the parents." The motion picture likewise tends to create a disrespect for parental authority, for the blunders of the "old folks" are made fun of. "Parents have their European ways so definitely ingrained that they cannot change a great deal. The boys are getting American ways very definitely, and hence there is an uncrossable chasm for which there is no adequate solution. Differences in the home begin with the language."³

³ Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles, 1925.

The problem of bridging the chasm between an American-born son or daughter and immigrant parents is most troublesome. The American-born boy who comes back from school in his bright sweater with a big letter on it, with corduroy trousers and an American cap "looks like a wild Indian" to his parents. At school he is a hero; at home, his parents shrink from him and ostracize him. He cannot easily play a dual personality rôle. His school looking-glass self is stronger than his home looking-glass self. Social distance rapidly widens.

128. He is the first in the home to represent American democracy to his parents. He is looked upon with pride by the family. He becomes a conscious and self-important element in the home, and the training of the home is reversed. He will take no orders from his "ignorant parents," who lose complete control over him. If he helps out financially, he feels still more independent. He makes rapid strides learning the desirable as well as the undesirable. The interests of the boy and the parents grow far apart, and they are strangers within the same home.⁴ — A RESEARCH WORKER

129. And when the boy leaves school, he has to run around to find work. Goes downtown and thinks he is master. In Europe these kids work on the farms for their fathers, and he supplies them with what they need. Here they decide for themselves, and most of the time decide wrong. How do you suppose we feel when the juvenile court officer comes around? I am ashamed. I am vexed and troubled. As long as they are small, there is no trouble; but as soon as they are old enough to make friends and run around with gangs, then they quit minding their parents, and the trouble begins. They have learned to complain to officials when they are severely punished, and what can you do? Very few people understand us and take an interest in our troubles. — A PARENT⁵

Intrapersonality Problems. — A peculiar but common personality problem relative to race relations is that of the person who is in continual "conflict with himself," because of possessing diverse or even diametrically opposed attitudes toward specific races. Conflicts in attitudes regarding races arise to plague many people. Sometimes the direct expe-

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

riences with the members of another race are favorable and the indirect, derivative ones unfavorable. Then a personal conflict ensues. The opposite type of situation is far less common, for, other things being equal, the verdict of direct personal experiences usually receives the greater weight.

Where derivative experiences have created a friendly attitude toward a race but have been followed by adverse direct experiences, disappointments are likely to occur. Another set of experiences leading to personal conflict is expressed thus: "Those you meet in the university seem to be of the higher class and are friendly, but those you see elsewhere and on the street look dubious."

Oftentimes the personal conflict arises from the perception of cultural differences in a specific race. We react toward those persons of our own culture level, but against those of a different level, particularly those of a lower level (unless sympathy operates strongly), and against those of a greatly higher level (to which there is little prospect of our attaining). "I am divided on the Jewish race. I have many Jewish friends whom I like extremely much. They are smart, big-hearted, good company, well-groomed. I must like them in spite of myself. But on the other hand, there is a lower class of Jew whom I detest. He may be rich or poor, but the lower type in my judgment is always flagrant, loud-mouthed, overbearing, and a bore."

Oftentimes the conflict takes a more personal turn as in the case of the individual who had established an intimate acquaintance with a Japanese and had found him a true and agreeable friend. But the newspaper reports that the Japanese laborers worked in California for smaller wages than white men, that they have an excessive birth rate, and that they would overrun the West if given a chance, were disturbing. A personal affection for an individual Japanese is overcome by a general fear for the welfare of the nation based on hearsay evidence.

130. In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, it is wise to discuss American people as I imagined them when I was in Japan, and then to give my impression after associating with them for quite a long time. This does not mean that my estimation of Americans is not as high as that of any other race; in fact, I still believe Americans are one of the most cultivated nations in the world.

To be sure, Japanese are ardent followers of democracy; consequently, we students in Japan did not fail to study American history and American government. As a result, we were thoroughly familiar with such famous persons as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, etc. Not only that, but we were also acquainted with what these great men had done for the United States and for the sake of humanity. When we thought of George Washington fighting for the independence of the American Colonies, Abraham Lincoln shedding blood for the abolition of slavery, and Woodrow Wilson sacrificing his life for world peace, we respected American public and American people who were largely responsible for the production of such geniuses.

Expecting Americans to be such and thinking them to be the nearest model of Bible teachings, I arrived in San Francisco and became a member of American society. For a few months, on account of ignorance and unfamiliarity with real American society, everything appealed to me as ideal. But I began to learn things about America and its daily happenings, and my respect for American people gradually faded away until I began to think of them as ordinary people, having unbalanced civilization, materially strong and spiritually weak.

Perhaps it will be interesting to state some of the factors which shook my confidence in American people as idealistic. First, the passing of the Anti-Alien Land Law, which aimed to rob bread and butter from poor oriental farmers who were trying to settle peacefully and desiring to be assimilated into American society. If the law had any sound economical reason to support its existence, then I have no objection; but the passing of the law was merely based on race prejudice and misunderstanding or ignorance.

Second, the attempt to segregate Japanese children from public school in Sacramento was not the kind of action that people who boast of their democracy should take. If the Japanese school children in that district were subnormal and hindered the progress of other American children, then their attempt was justified. But

the investigation proved that that condition was not so; hence no justification for the action.

Third, that public opinion which made the Japanese consul general at San Francisco stop picture brides from coming was poor expression of sense of fairness, for although the coming in of a great number of brides to this country was not desirable, yet people should be fairminded enough to give opportunity to those already settled in this country to establish their respective families.

Fourth, the passing of the recent immigration law, too, was undemocratic; for admitting that the restriction of immigrants is wise policy, we cannot very well agree that exclusion alone of Orientals is justifiable policy. Any action which is based upon discrimination and bias is not the kind of action we expect from people who believe in democracy.

Now, let me recount a few experiences I have gone through in the past. One day, hoping to get away from the burning sun of the summer, I tried to go into a certain plunge; but contrary to my expectation, I was flatly refused. I did not know the reason then, but later on I was informed that the manager at the plunge refused to admit me because of my race.

In a certain district, a friend of mine rented a house, but he was compelled to move a few days later because neighboring people did not want Japanese in their district. The other day the building of a Japanese M. E. Church was being planned in a certain district; but when neighbors heard this, they filed petition with the city clerk and prevented construction of the building.

If Japanese were asking for admittance to any social functions and for other similar privileges, then they may be justified in being refused, but in these cases they were merely asking for the peaceful settlement and unharmed pursuit of peace. Still, in spite of these unpleasant experiences, I have no bitter feeling toward Americans; only I think of them as ordinary nation, no better than most of other races. Thus I feel less friendly toward them than I did in the past.⁶

Personality differences are of two types. (1) Certain differences lead naturally and easily to clashes even when all parties belong to the same race. Sometimes the differences are purely (a) temperamental and inherited; sometimes

⁶ *Ibid.*

they represent (b) different levels of culture development. Of course, where two or more races are involved, such personality differences easily generate fire. (2) Sometimes personality differences represent different races but similar levels of culture development. Such conditions are a fruitful source of racial conflicts. Status, competition, and invasion are usually influential factors.

The adjustment of the personality differences that cause racial problems is complicated. The adjustment of temperament clashes involves a knowledge of psychiatry, psychology, and sociology, as well as an understanding of how to apply these disciplines to social situations where two or more persons are in conflict. The adjustment of the culture differences that lead to race conflicts is, however, a less difficult matter, for education can eliminate culture distances. Public opinion, however, may increase social distances, for it often "educates" people to look for and magnify personality differences, to generalize these differences into racial fears and prejudices, and hence to hinder personality adjustments.

PROJECTS

1. Describe in detail any two personality clashes that you have had with members of any race besides your own.
2. Compare and contrast these two personality clashes in as many ways as possible.
3. Interview some other person, and write out in full a personality clash that he or she may have experienced with a member of any race not his own.
4. Analyze the different stages in a personality clash involving two races.
5. Describe the different types of endings in which personality clashes may result.
6. Analyze personality traits, making two classes: (1) those that easily lead to race clashes and (2) those that do not. Give illustrations of each.

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CHAPTER XVIII

PUBLIC OPINION AND RACE PROBLEMS

The solution of racial problems includes more than the adjustment of personality differences, for the latter occur in a public opinion medium. As public opinion has prepared the way, so personality differences multiply or dissolve. In a real sense the nature of racial problems at any particular time depends on public opinion. Within the changing currents and established planes of opinion and thought, persons of different races clash and struggle, or grow friendly. Personal opinions grow into antipathetic or friendly racial opinion.

Racial opinion is a curious compound. It may be studied at close range in connection with the prevailing opinions of the people of any local community, it may be observed in the form of the opinion accompanying any particular race riot, or it may be considered in terms of the traditional origins of race mores.

Local Racial Opinion. — Every local community, whether rural or a natural psychosocial area in a large city, holds certain more or less vaguely integrated racial opinions. Whether an admixture or a juxtaposition of races is present or not makes no differences. Such factors affect the variety of opinions but not their number.

To study the racial opinions of a local community it is necessary to go to the community itself, to its written records, if there be such, and to its unwritten history, to its leaders, to its citizenry. Out of these accounts an objective statement can be woven together. Besides this, there remains the meaning of such racial opinion, that is, its origins

in the community happenings and in the personal experiences of the community residents.

A remote mountain community usually possesses stable or fixed racial opinions. "We are superior," and "there is to be no invasion" are characteristic. Everything is fixed on the basis of priority and ethnocentrism. A small trickle of outsiders does not arouse these attitudes, but the appearance of numbers of "foreigners" is usually met with stout resistance.

A metropolitan area possesses both fixed and changing racial opinions. Rooming-house areas and districts of social disorganization have few fixed racial attitudes, but wealthy residence districts and upper middle-class neighborhoods possess definite complexes. When invasion occurs, intolerance may become violent. In socially disorganized districts racial clashes may occur through sheer lack of social control.

In one of the local-community studies of racial opinion made during the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey, the research-interview method was used. Three races, Caucasians, Negroes, and Japanese, were living in the same local community. Systematic interviewing brought out the racial opinions of each of the three major culture groups represented.¹ Many of the white people who have remained have taken a somewhat noncommittal attitude, providing it is understood that the Negroes shall encroach no farther upon the white district. They tolerate and on occasion become neighbors with the Negroes and Japanese. The latter races are viewed by many of the Americans on their merits as family and neighbor groups rather than as racial entities.

The Negroes in this area belong to the more educated and better class members of the race. As a rule they are well-ordered neighbors. They are allowed freedom in home

¹ The interviews were conducted by E. F. Bamford, a member of the Race Relations Survey staff. A part of the results is reported in E. S. Bogardus, *The New Social Research*. Jesse Ray Miller Press, Los Angeles, 1926.

building. Toward the Japanese, the Negro opinion is friendly — that of a fellow sufferer.

Japanese opinion, on the whole, is thankful. The Japanese in this community are glad to “be let alone”; they are appreciative of school opportunities, of a chance to worship as they wish, of homes with yards for their children. Resentment on account of “the unchristian prejudices of Christian United States” sometimes crops out.

Altogether there is a triracial tolerance. While each race has its marked differences, there are culture similarities regarding home building, economic independence, freedom of worship, school facilities, obedience of laws. Out of these similarities of striving peoples arises a common racial opinion.

Mores and Racial Opinion. — Racial opinion is inseparable from the mores, which pronounces certain social practices “good” and others “bad.” Certain race relations are forbidden by the mores; certain race proposals, such as intermarriage of white and black, are nondiscussible. Such topics are not allowed to come into the field of public opinion. They have long since been “settled.” To allow them to be discussed is repugnant; moreover, such discussion might lead to their modification. Ordinarily, the mores do not come within the range of human attention. Prohibitions are deep-seated and “sacred.”

But let the mores be overstepped and woe to the offender. Public opinion comes to the rescue. Feelings are inflamed, horrified accusations are hurled, group patriotism and emotions turn into violence and hatred. Competition comes into the open as conscious conflict and public opinion becomes “fighting mad.”

Children are born into the mores, and thus are “saturated” at an early date in their lives with both antiracial and proracial beliefs. The former are usually accompanied by strong emotional reactions. Emotional fixations of any

antiracial nature that become established in the uncritical years of life color all opinions that come after. The mores thus may become a leading source of a person's prejudices. Since the mores must not be criticized or even discussed, a person may become unconsciously and hopelessly the victim of race prejudices. Moreover, these prejudices may easily become a part of one's personality traits. To have them questioned is considered a personal insult.

The mores thus furnish an inexorable setting for the rise of public opinion. It is probably true that, where a turbulent public opinion springs up, the mores in one way or another have been invaded. If allowed their way, the mores would keep everything settled and quiet; there would be little occasion for a powerful public opinion.

Mores are often ritualized; race mores are both taught and caught. They acquire a "divine" nature, and survive long under a false cloak. Racial and religious sanctions may become inseparable and dominate public opinion.

The mores are of a contractual nature. Parents give their children established codes and standards (mores). These become encased in sentiment and respect for parents, and may be observed, for the parents' sake, long after their inadequate or possible unjust nature has been noted. Many sons and daughters feel under obligation to parental wish and carry forward a racial mores that has little scientific foundation. Parental loyalty thus may hinder the rise of a new and needed racial opinion.

Myth, Rumor, and News. — Myth is omnipresent in the formation of racial opinion. As Dr. R. E. Park has said, a myth is a generalization which cannot be proved. It is, nevertheless, as effective as though it were demonstrable. It becomes a symbol that is accepted as the truth. Its very indistinctness gives it a fear-making quality. It rises like the green eyes of a beast in the dark. The fear reactions are all powerful.

Any wild-cat generalization, as represented by the symbols, "terrible Turk," or "yellow peril," is caught up by the public ear, and broadcasted. It is given big headlines by the newspapers. The black shadow is accepted for truth.

Myth starts in rumor. Almost any person in a moment of fear — fear for his own social and economic status or for the status of his group — may impetuously give vent to startling remarks. If he wishes to secure a hearing, he exaggerates or speaks with greater force than the circumstances warrant. If an atmosphere of racial unrest already exists, then such exaggerations pass quickly from person to person, gathering momentum as they go. There is no time or disposition for calm inquiry. Research would be considered preposterous.

A rumor is a currently started and unverified statement; if it persists, it becomes a myth. Creating and spreading excitement as it goes, it is readily accepted long after it has leaped all the bounds of truth. Once started it cannot be recalled; neither can the harm it does be offset. The killing of four persons in a riot quickly becomes reported as the massacre of forty. A Negro severely beaten by a mob of white hoodlums may live to discover that he "was burned alive at the stake." Rumors easily float into myths. Racial opinion acquires new biases and is ready to listen to new rumors. Thus the vicious circle continues.

131. The director of the civic bureau of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, writing to a friend in Chicago, asked for authentic information concerning the number of Negroes killed during the riot (Chicago race riot, 1919). He sought the information because, he said, the industrial editor of the *Outlook* had told him that "more than 2000 Negroes were killed in the riot" and that a certain labor report placed the number at 1700. Suspecting that even the latter number was too large, although the police mentioned 10,000 wounded and killed, he wrote for information. (The actual number of Negroes killed was 23.)²

² *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 568. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, 1922.

Since news is not an event but an account of an event, as pointed out by Dr. Park, it is some person's "interpretation" of an event. The experiences of this person, his racial prejudices, the racial biases of the given newspaper owner — all these influence the reporter's write-up of news. The mental patterns of all concerned in the description and interpretation of racial news are more important than the events themselves. In the newspaper accounts of the Mexican agrarian policy put into effect in January, 1927, the economic "interests" of the press were clearly evident. All who do not see as "we do" are "Bolshevists." Other newspaper accounts breathe nothing but praise for the Mexican land and oil policy and refer to all Americans, "business and religious" alike, as autocrats. The distortions thus fall into two opposite extremes, and the truth — no one can find out. In no other field, unless it be the religious, is truth so likely to be distorted by protagonist observers as in racial matters. Whenever news is reported by a news organization that is determined entirely by "private and unexamined standards," the truth is likely to be distorted and a false public opinion manufactured. Whether these private standards are vicious or lofty does not gainsay the fact that they mold the nature of news and influence public opinion as much or even more than the actual events that have occurred.

Politicians seeking votes pick up and broadcast a myth against a race which is denied the right to vote. The public seeking a thrill, feeds upon myths. If there are some helpless individuals who can be denounced right vigorously, the public is easily fooled into thinking that the denouncer is a hero of the first order, a kind of savior of his country as it were, one to whom to deny votes would be traitorous. An unfortunate result is that a prejudiced public opinion spreads. Oriental immigrants in the United States, having no votes, have been "the football of politics." To denounce

the "Chinks" or the "Japs" has brought wild applause and thousands of votes, but at the expense of a false and emotional public opinion.

By "propaganda" is meant news which has been headed up and interpreted for the purposes of persons or "interests," and which may belie the truth it purports to represent. Propaganda against any foreign race is easily promulgated, especially if it plays upon the loyalty of natives to their own people. A race fearful of losing its own status will "believe" almost any propaganda against other races. Propaganda may play upon a person's emotional nature until the latter develops pathological patterns. "Race riots" in cities are partly propaganda made. "Housing wars" including the mysterious burning of homes are often the outgrowth of propaganda.

Steps in Antiracial Opinion.—"Invasion" is usually the chief factor in the rise of adverse racial opinions. The mores prohibit certain inter-race relationships; but when these are "overstepped," the first or "flare-up" stage of racial opinion develops. A few persons whose emotions have been shocked by a disturbance of the mores begin to talk vigorously. Wild statements and excitement rule.

After the original "flare-up" comes the second or "organization" stage. The sources of irritation persist. Countless small group "gab-fests" pass from fickle indignation exhibitions to a more determined procedure. All are certain that something must be done. Some one leads the way in calling a mass meeting, a set of officers is elected, and a simple organization is perfected. Spellbinders and orators take the stage. Racial inflammation expresses itself in denunciation; local patriotism rules.

Then the third or "action" stage follows. It ranges all the way from posting prohibitory signs to obtaining injunctions. Rioting may ensue, but, on the other hand, someone may intervene. Some of the more thoughtful persons or

broad-minded protest. They urge caution. A few courageous souls may flatly "object" to the inhuman procedure. But they are dealt with summarily, called all sorts of names, and made to appear as traitors. If they persist, they may be burned in effigy; they are sent threatening letters and are ostracized in social and business ways. Exponents of fair play are "hotted down and out."

The fourth stage is characterized by fixation of new prejudices. No matter what the final outcome of the race conflict may be, the enraged emotions "fixate" new prejudices in the mores. If the invasion persists, many clashes and riots occur; and if the conflict lasts long, a greatly modified mores results.

Areas of Racial Opinion.—Racial opinion occurs in high-pressure areas with low-pressure regions between. The first express either antipathy or friendliness. The antipathetic areas possess a higher emotional pressure than the friendliness-pressure areas. In between are the low-pressure or neutral districts in which high pressures are likely to be manifested at any time. The high-pressure areas of both types are relatively stationary. Antipathetic centers of race opinion subside but remain powerful. Friendly centers of race opinion ordinarily attract little attention to themselves, but are more or less lasting.

The antipathetic pressure areas are definitely centered as a rule in the offices of organizations such as those of exclusion leagues, native sons, and "patriotic" bodies, of local community organizations, of certain newspapers, or in the homes of specific private citizens. Strong emotional and defense reactions focus effort in the distribution of antirace literature and the planning of propaganda meetings.

The emotional pressure is greater in antirace areas than in the fair play regions. There is more emotional pressure per person in the former than in the latter, and hence there is more activity, excitement, and furor. The former appear in

explosive lumps; the latter gradually diffuse. A small area of antirace opinion is likely to make a larger "noise" and a greater impression than a large area of fair play opinion. It meets with prompter and more dynamic responses. It is more aggressive and hence effective.

Antirace opinion is deliberately advertised, while fair play opinion is not "news." It is "assumed to be normal" and receives publicity with difficulty. Antirace facts are spectacular, imply a fight, and stimulate the wish for security. They touch off dislikes. They verge sufficiently on the pathological to arouse morbid curiosity. They are excitingly destructive, like a conflagration; fair play opinion is peacefully constructive, like the growing of an oak.

The "fair-play" pressure areas are not only more diffused but more rational. Sometimes they center in an organization for international good will or inter-race relations, a church organization or a broad-gauge chamber of commerce. Sporadic efforts, limited financial supports, frequent expression of brotherhood ideals are characteristic. The thinness of "resolutions" is being recognized, and the practice is passing.

There are fair-play areas with headquarters in the offices of the various organizations, business, religious, community, of the immigrant races themselves. Feeling themselves to be misunderstood and mistreated, they frequently ask Americans for assistance and coöperation develops between the native and immigrant fair-play areas. Efforts to spread "favorable" reports are occasionally varied by "going into the courts" and asking there for justice.

The regions of dead calm and of small eddies that exist between the high-pressure areas are occasionally whipped into a fury by the outreaching whirls of antirace opinion. Independent flurries may also occur, because of the arrival of "invaders." If there is no invasion in a competitive sense, then racial opinion remains dormant.

132. I live in a community in which there are one hundred Mexicans — about twenty-five Mexican families. They have been here for a number of years and are growing slowly. They tend to their own business and seem to be peaceful enough. They work for the white ranchers. White people need them, and only a kindly feeling toward them exists. The only time that there has been a flare-up was a year ago last winter, when some of them committed a nuisance. The trouble makers were visitors who were sent away. Everything has been all right since.³

The various areas are “publics”; they are “circles of influence.” Each has its own set of opinions — its own “public opinion,” bubbling up out of its own set of mores and conflicting with each other. Racial opinions occupy an intermediate rôle between the stable group mores and the fluctuating personal experiences of the day.

At the gigantic task of making over the currents and planes of racial opinion, education is continually at work. But education has much that is unscientific to overcome. It is often governed by the mores, and helpless before destructive experiences. In its socially scientific aspects, however, it is gaining ground, and much may be expected of it in the solving of racial problems.

PROJECTS

1. Make a case study of any race-conflict situation of which you have first-hand knowledge in terms of the classes and stages of public opinion manifested.

2. Make a case study of racial myths in your community.

3. Analyze in full any specific example of race propaganda.

4. Try to develop a new or a changed group opinion on some race matter, and describe the main phases of the experiment.

5. Start a race rumor among ten friends, and arrange to have the last report given back to you, noting changes which have occurred in the rumor and analyzing the origins of each change.

6. Compare and contrast the expressions of public opinion in a racial conflict with public opinion in a religious dispute.

³ Mexican Immigrant Survey of the Southwest.

7. Analyze the different concrete ways in which the mores hold public opinion under control in your community.

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CHAPTER XIX

EDUCATION AND RACE PROBLEMS

Education in the sense of developing and changing human attitudes is the culminating phase of "immigration and racial attitudes." Education is the supreme adjustment process. The discussion of education and racial problems is essentially a summary of the materials presented in the preceding chapters with reference to securing new and better racial adjustments than now obtain. But education is both unscientific and scientific, with the former predominant. Unscientific education is generally unsystematic and often propagandistic, while scientific education is usually organized.

Unsystematic Education. — Under the conditions that have existed in the past and that still rule, unscientific and unsystematic education plays the largest rôle in racial relations situations. The education that comes through sober experiences is still dominant. While these experiences work both constructively and destructively, the latter type unfortunately is the more effective. If unfavorable racial contacts lead to racial antipathies, and pleasing contacts to friendliness, then a sound education program may be built around the control of racial contacts. To provide social conditions whereby racial contacts will take place on bases of full understanding and fellow feeling would solve racial problems.

Another dynamic educational factor is hearsay and derivative experience as distinguished from direct contacts. In this connection it is chiefly the unfavorable racial contacts that become broadcasted through gossip. Since unfavorable experiences travel faster, farther, and become

more exaggerated than favorable ones, a wise educational program will include attempts to control the spread of gossip both from person to person and from "yellow journalism" to its millions of devotees. Some progress is already being made in educating people to "pass on" deeds of heroism, kindness, and fair play by immigrants, and to "hold back" deeds of cruelty and repulsion of individual immigrants—at least to the extent of not charging the bad deeds of individual immigrants to whole races.

The atmosphere which is created when racial experiences are reported by one person to others is all-important. The "way in which a thing is said" is effective in developing true or false attitudes. The attitudes of parents and other leaders in repeating the ill-advised actions of racialists is often more significant than the actions themselves.

133. It was Easter morning on the second-class deck of the S. S. *Olympic* en route to America. A New England mother was quietly reading the story of the crucifixion to her three children. In the midst of the story one interrupted and asked, "So it was a bunch of Jews who killed Jesus?" The mother started to nod assent when her eye fell on the occupants of several adjacent steamer chairs, and, like a flash, she said, "Yes, it happened to be Jews who killed Jesus, but He Himself was a Jew. If He had been living in America today, it would have been Protestant Christians like ourselves who would have killed Him."¹

Another relationship between education and racial attitudes is illustrated by the spellbinder, or emotional public speaker. By working up a climax of "terrible word picture," by painting the worst that may be said about a race in "hideous images," by shouting with vehemence, for instance, that "the Orientals shall never again enter the United States," the cheap orator has a wide but dangerous "educational" influence. Fortunately, there are also many public speakers who in calm and dispassionate terms are

¹ From manuscript compiled by Bruno Lasker, *The Inquiry*.

doing educational work in behalf of many races. Pulpit, lecture platform, and radio station may well redouble their efforts in offsetting untoward racial propaganda.

Still another important educational factor, discussed in an earlier chapter, is the motion picture. An urgent need is the elimination of foreigners as "villains" and a change in attitude by the producers whereby the races of the earth will be "pictured" correctly in all their interesting social rôles and whereby culture history will be made fascinating, somewhat after the manner of pictures published from time to time in magazines such as the *National Geographic*. Paid ethnologists in the service of the motion-picture world could render widespread service.

The rôle of works of fiction in portraying foreigners as "villains" is well known, but this type of writing is counter-balanced by the many immigrant autobiographies that have recently been published.²

"Life histories" of immigrants often make more interesting reading than novels and carry a wide and favorable appeal. Foundations for publishing carefully selected life-history materials would serve a useful purpose. Life-history materials from natives who have moved from one part of their own country to some other locality would also be enlightening.

The Particularistic Error.—People generalize upon a few experiences, either direct or derivative. Upon the basis of one unfavorable experience with one Japanese and a general social atmosphere of suspicion regarding Japanese, a person ordinarily generalizes against all Japanese. Upon examination the "general social atmosphere" or prevailing public opinion is found to have been built up unscientifically. Often it is largely the product of rumor and myth and isolated experiences. Sometimes one or more unfavorable

² Well-known illustrations are Ludwig Lewisohn's *Up Stream*, Mary Antin's *Promised Land*, Constantine Panunzio's *The Soul of an Immigrant*, Max Ravage's *An American in the Making*.

direct experiences are supported by a number of indirect or hearsay reports. A vivid personal experience or the imaginative dramatization of a reported event is effective. "Acquaintance with two Armenians has done much to develop my feelings against the Turks." Again, "In this terrible affair (the sinking of the *Lusitania*) over one thousand women and children were drowned. This is one thing I will never forget and will hold against the German race all my life."

134. The first time that I can remember seeing Japanese, I formed my opinion of them, and it has never changed. In fact it has been kindled into a roaring fire of hatred. My first experience with the Jap was when I was on my way to the Philippine Islands. At Nagasaki, Japan has a coaling station where we stopped for a day and a half to get coal. In loading coal, coal barges come out to the ship that is anchored in the harbor. With these barges there is a band of Jap laborers. On close observation we found that these gangs consisted of men and women. When the barges are tied up to the ship, a line is formed, and large baskets of coal are passed up into the ship by men and women alike; these baskets are dumped into the hold and returned to the barge. This little experience showed me what low standards of living these people maintained.³

135. I do not like the Englishmen very well, although they have not done any harm to me personally. My feeling against the English people was due to an unspeakable instance which occurred many years ago in Hong Kong, China. One evening while I was looking out from a window of the hotel, I saw a group of Chinese waiting eagerly for their friends to come up from a steamboat. One of the Chinese was trying to get as near to the boat as possible (as we always do) to welcome his friend. A six-foot English policeman rushed to that innocent Chinese man, who did not know the regulations of the pier, and said: "No one is allowed to get near the boat while passengers are landing," knocking him down with a club, and kicked him on the ribs with his iron-toed boot. From that time since, when the word "Englishman" is mentioned, that terrible instance always appears once again vividly in my mind.⁴

³ Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey.

⁴ Social Distance Studies.

Even though a person recognizes the "particularistic error" as such, and that he is a victim, he is helpless. Even though he knows his experiences to be unrepresentative and unfair to a specific race as a whole, he cannot extricate himself from the thralldom. A few unpleasant experiences are more powerful than studied attempts to be tolerant and broad-visioned.

136. Again my experience with the Jew has prejudiced me in spite of my trying to be broad and democratic. I have known only a few Jews, and unfortunately these have not been good representatives. These Jews would not mix with the Gentiles, nor would they contribute in any way to help the particular little city where they were. They had only one aim and that was to make money, in any manner. These Jews were a representative of uncultured and rather narrow ideals. I have not been fortunate in coming in contact with the more desirable and worth-while Jew who, I am sure, exists. Naturally until I have more desirable experiences, there will exist that unfair prejudice.⁵

The particularistic error also operates in building up racial friendliness. College or university life is favorable to the development of friendship between native-born and a few splendid representatives of other races; particularistic results obtain. In other words, first-hand and intimate acquaintance with high-class, interesting, and dependable individuals of a given race leads to favorable conclusions regarding the entire race. This conclusion is a good start toward, but not a substantial ground upon which to build, racial friendliness. It may end in disillusionment, or it may lead a person to overcome derivative antipathies and to substitute racial friendliness at least of an idealistic sort for racial indifference or prejudice.

Systematic Education.—Textbooks skillfully written often depict the favorable traits of the given nation and its peoples without mentioning the worst practices. Concomi-

⁵ Social Distance Studies.

tantly, they may emphasize the less worthy features of other races to the neglect of the best traits. Coupled with such texts there may be "injunctions" issued to the teachers "to teach the textbooks only" and to raise no "troublesome questions" in the minds of pupils. In this way systematic education may distort parts of the truth at the expense of other parts and promulgate dangerously inaccurate racial attitudes.

137. Another interesting picture is drawn by a colored woman who writes: "When I first entered school in the state of Ohio at the age of five or six years, I knew nothing about a color line. I was something of a pet, because I was the youngest in the school at that time. But when I got to be about eight or nine years old, I began to discover that somehow I was a little different from the other children. One evening when going home from school, a girl who lived next door called me a "nigger." We fought it out with fists and feet. I believe I could go to the very spot now where I sat on her prostrate body and pummelled her good.

A little later on, when I was about to finish the grades, we were studying the races of men in the geography class, and I remember distinctly the picture of the African savage that was used as our representative. I was quite innocent of the fact that I had the same racial lineages as he. Underneath the picture it said, "Ethiopian — he belongs to the most backward race on the face of the globe." And my white schoolmates turned around to me and said, "Now, that's your folks." Nothing else was said concerning Negroes in any textbook we used, except that they were slaves. This made a profound impression on my mind and resulted, many years after, in my touring the country for four years in a Ford coupé, carrying with me a two-foot shelf of Negro literature in the hope of doing something to offset the silence of the textbooks with regard to the achievements of the colored people.⁶

138. The southern writer George Madden Martin, in a recent report on the history of the Negro in public school texts to the Kentucky Inter-Racial Conference, says among other things:

"In no textbooks that your committee has examined is the American Negro shown in a creditable sense to the pupil, white

⁶ From manuscript by Bruno Lasker, *ibid*.

and colored, as a people, a race group, with a past and authenticated history of their own in Africa. Again, no textbook that we have examined tells the pupil that practically every people in the world have been enslaved by some people at some period in their history; no textbook that we have examined explains to the pupil, white and colored, that slavery is a condition imposed, endured, not necessarily merited.

"Your committee, in a word, has found no school textbook which first, presents and considers the Negro as a race group, with the rights and attributes of such a group and, next, as a slave group, contributory to the economic development of America."⁷

The emphasis upon the greatness of the United States and upon "her glorious past" often gives children exaggerated impressions of their own country and an inadequate background against which to measure other nations. By contrast they think of other nations as inferior, without realizing that each nation has certain superior as well as inferior culture traits. An Italian immigrant recalls textbooks used in his native country where Italy was pictured in the center of the page as a benevolent giant, while around the central figure were arranged the other nations playing small and ignoble rôles. Such an unfairly distorted presentation is made to the children of each nation. Moreover, this distorted educational influence is rarely corrected.

139. In the study of history and geography in the lower grades one forms many prejudices against various small foreign countries. These prejudices are largely a result of overidealizing the United States and underestimating small countries by comparison with the United States. Much time is spent studying the utopian principles of loyalty, freedom, the magnificent business enterprise, and wealth of natural resources in the United States while the realism of it all is overlooked. In the meantime, little is said regarding the small foreign countries, and as a result one has a tendency to belittle anything favorable said about them. Later in school, the subject matter is handled more plainly, and a fairer estimate may be made of all countries concerned. Furthermore,

⁷ *Ibid.*

one is constantly coming in touch with foreigners and newly naturalized citizens who are quite willing to state their views. Such magazines as the *National Geographic* often have articles, enlightening in nature, and giving a fair insight into the life of individual races. The change in the evaluation of these small countries is largely due to an increased and unprejudiced knowledge of them and of the actual social place of the United States. These ideas and prejudices regarding countries are naturally associated with the races inhabiting those countries, so that, when one thinks of a country being weak in world affairs, he feels that a corresponding weakness exists in its racial inhabitants.

Greece, for example, is historically a defeated nation, small in natural resources and population and fairly impotent in world affairs. It would not be difficult to feel that the Greeks were representative of their country and likewise weak in world affairs, but such feeling is purely illusionary in nature. The whole question rests on a less general and more specific knowledge of the people. In this country the Greeks have at once found a place as restaurant keepers, but their offspring are not un-American enough to be satisfied with that sort of living. In the United States these sons of Greeks are interested in law, medicine, and teaching; and they are not slow to grasp the American viewpoint. In the meantime, they are offering some of the classic Greek ideals which are evidently superior to some of our own. I have had the privilege of hearing Greek men, not well educated as Americans nor of the low type of Greeks, argue concerning the relative worth of legal and civic methods in this country and in Greece; they were quite convincing in showing how well regulated Greece is. I have read about some of the staid and reasonable methods of living in Greece, and it is quite apparent that the culture of Plato's time is still respected by the modern Greeks. To know now that this small country exists so successfully and independently in spite of the arrogance of other more powerful nations is very good reason to hold the Greeks in a much more favorable position than I did five or ten years ago.⁸

In the grade and high schools, however, are many teachers who in the extracurricular contacts as well as in classroom contacts with boys and girls do much to broaden the latter's racial attitudes. Some influence pupils in the opposite direc-

⁸ Social Distance Studies.

tion, but on the whole this influence does not seem to be as extensive as the constructive type. As an example of the influence of a broad-minded teacher in changing attitudes, the following from the experience of a private school in a northern city is pertinent:

140. A high-school boy was going to give a party to his entire class but did not dare to invite the one colored member of the class, because he was afraid that he would not accept and that there would be some strained situation. He and his mother consulted me, because they were sincerely distressed at the idea of an omission. I told them by all means to invite the boy, and I would see to it that he did accept. I went to the colored boy and said: "Now you colored people, in your effort not to seem obtrusive, frequently make it very difficult for white people to treat you with the exact equality that they would like to do, because you defeat their efforts by withdrawing. You are going to be invited to this party. If you go, there may be some painful experiences for you, but I believe it is your duty to go and have just as good a time as you can rather than give the whole class a chance to say, 'Of course, he was in school with us, but when it came to a party he had to be left out.'" The boy and his parents coöperated perfectly, and the party turned out to be a great success, the only problem being caused by a girl who made herself somewhat unhappy by working up indignation over the situation. Everyone else took the matter in exactly the right spirit. — A TEACHER⁹

If a boy, for instance, leaves high school "to go to work," not much change in racial antipathies is likely to occur in his later years. Even if he goes into a professional school with only a brief liberal arts exposure, he still is not likely to undergo much change in racial antipathies. The first two years of study in a liberal arts college does not affect him greatly, but in the upper-division years, if he elects sociological courses, changes in the direction of increased race friendliness are likely to take place.

A large background of knowledge protects a person from generalizing too quickly. It leads one to insist on knowing

⁹ From manuscript by Bruno Lasker, *ibid.*

"both sides" before coming to a conclusion; it insists that scientific inquiry precede ethical judgments. If one's education includes courses in social anthropology, ethnology, and sociology, then definite and measurable results may be noted.

141. On coming to the university and after taking up a course in elementary sociology, I soon discovered that my race prejudice was based upon unfounded "facts." Lack of education and superstition were the reasons given for the conduct of some Negroes. Facts were presented to me, and the question was raised that, if the Negro was given the same opportunity as the white man under the identical conditions, wouldn't he attain the same results? If the white student was forced to battle against the same adverse conditions as the Negro to gain his education, would he get as far as the Negro does?

It was probable that my white friends had based their views entirely on public opinion in the South and not on any specific causes. It was possible that they had developed a hatred for one or two individuals and judged the entire race on these views.¹⁰

In courses of this character where students have recorded their race reactions at the beginning of the course and again some months later at the end of the course, the results show limited changes toward increased race friendliness. There is generally noticeable a distinct decline in the wish "to exclude other races from the country entirely" and also a lesser tendency to cut down on the reaction to admit certain races "as visitors only." On the other hand, no particular effects are discoverable in the attitude toward marrying members of "other races," and the percentage remains low. There is, however, an increase in the tendency "to admit members of other races into one's own groups of chums." But this tendency is not due apparently to an increase in real racial friendliness so much as to an increase in racial curiosity and an aroused attitude to know other races first-hand—a sound basis, to be sure, for substantial racial friendliness. There are also increases in the tendency "to

¹⁰ Social Distance Studies.

admit immigrants to one's street as neighbors" and "to one's country," but these are rarely idealistic and not well stabilized.

Representative reactions include: "In the case of certain races I found myself hesitating this time, whereas before I was certain that I disliked them. Last time I put them at a distance; this time I did not make any marks." Again, "As a result of the reading that I have been doing I have been broadened considerably and have changed my race attitudes noticeably." Not only college courses but college contacts count. The latter are by far the more important in an emotional sense, while the former rank higher as intellectual factors.

142. Probably the outstanding reason for this statement is that, up to the time I went away to college, the only representatives of the race that I came in contact with were those of the lower class: namely, butlers, chauffeurs, waiters in hotels, valets, and the like. As servants they performed their duties efficiently, but their servile attitude aroused a contemptuous feeling within me, and I failed to appreciate their good qualities. If such a thing as class distinction can be made, they belonged to the lower strata of society, and as such I ranked them.

In preparatory school I happened to meet a Japanese boy on whom I at first looked with scorn; but as time went on, he not only excelled in his studies but also was a top notcher in athletics, a good mixer, and one of the best sports in the world. I opened my eyes and began to think that maybe there was something in this Japanese after all. Courteous always, willing to give one the benefit of the doubt but strong enough to always stand up for his rights, I began to admire him. Soon we became rather good friends. But this was only one representative of the race.

I went to college, and as things went along and time went on I came into contact with many Japanese who proved the new set of standards I had set up within myself for them. Racial prejudice runs strong in the South, and it was there that I was reared. This may account to some extent for my early feeling. Even though I have come to admire the Japanese and respect them, I do not believe in the intermingling of races, because there is always an inevitable clash as to customs and ideals.

National prejudice has also been a factor that has set many people against them. Militaristic propaganda, introducing the idea that Japan will some day without a doubt "take a fall out of the United States" and grab our Pacific Ocean possessions and overrun our country has been at the bottom of it. There may be something to it, I don't know, but I cannot quite see the idea of arousing national hatred for the sole purpose of keeping the army in a job.¹¹

The effects on instructors of racial-relations courses are noteworthy. Sometimes there are no effects or even "hard-boiled" reactions. Occasionally, there is fine discrimination, as in the case of the teacher who states that a sense of the importance of his position and the fact that his pupils swear by what he says keeps him impartial. His reading of immigrant autobiographies has extended his sympathies, although a critical study of intelligence tests and eugenics makes him wonder if there are not hard and fast lines of superiority and inferiority between races. He feels that he has overcome race hatred and that he can discriminate between the constructive and destructive traits of the members of different races on the bases of personal worth. "I'm against some Turks, some Mexicans, some Jews, and so on, but for the same reason that I despise some Americans."

Exchange studentships and fellowships, cosmopolitan clubs, international houses, the widespread study of the cultures of all races by each member of each race—all these enterprises naturally lead to the development of broad racial attitudes. To overcome racial prejudice in America against the Turk, for instance, it has been suggested that Turkish students be brought to America and distributed among all the colleges and universities. The proposal of an American college to admit a number of properly qualified students from the various races of the world and to limit American students to a small proportion of the total number would be a unique experiment in racial relations phenomena.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Systematic or academic education under broad-minded and well-trained teachers in culture history and racial problems is, after all, the outstanding factor in a sound educational program. Actual living with races different from one's own, provided one has ethnological training and retains a fair degree of human sympathy, is the best educational procedure of all. Most important of all is the need for more and better racial relations surveys and studies throughout the world.

PROJECTS

1. Outline a nation-wide program for multiplying the growth of constructive race attitudes.
2. Outline a world policy for building constructive race attitudes.
3. Compare unsystematic with systematic education relative to cultivating helpful race attitudes.
4. Describe a procedure whereby a person might protect himself from the evils of "the particularist error" in race matters.
5. Prepare a syllabus of the culture traits of two races besides your own, and make a comparative study.
6. Imagine yourself a member of some distinctly "foreign" race, and make a syllabus of the culture traits of your real race. Then compare the results with the findings of the preceding exercise.
7. Outline a complete procedure for a given race relations survey.

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CHAPTER XX

SOCIAL SERVICE AND RACE PROBLEMS

Assisting immigrants to adjust themselves to new conditions and to reorganize their personalities represents one phase of social service. Such assistance ranges all the way from doing neighborly things for immigrants to rendering psychiatric and mental hygiene aid of a professional sort. It also refers to remaking the social and economic order so that immigrants may secure justice in labor, comfort in housing, and joy in home making.

In many communities where unassimilated immigrants are located, there are generally a few natives who are interested in the immigrants, who are disturbed because the immigrants do not become assimilated and because other natives are antagonistic toward the newcomers under the guise of being patriotic and loyal. The few natives who are thus disturbed make friends with the immigrants and try to excuse the prejudices of their fellow natives, but are at a loss to know what to do to dissolve the race conflict or to prevent it from becoming a race clash or riot. In showing themselves friendly toward the immigrants, they are labeled traitors by their fellow natives, and their efficiency as immigration workers is hampered. A fundamental procedure for workers with immigrants to follow is to make careful and painstaking studies of the local situation and to develop adequate programs based on such studies.

Making Surveys. — For one studying the local situation, a pathfinder survey of the facts regarding the immigrants is the first thing to undertake. Such a survey should secure data, such as number of immigrants and of their children by

age periods; the details of their mortality rates, the facts concerning their housing and living conditions, their working conditions including wages, hours of work, accident rates, and their social disorganization as revealed through their poverty and behavior problems.

A social survey of this character will logically be followed by additional research, recording the attitudes and opinions of immigrants on their various personal and social problems. If the delinquency rate of their children is high, what are the attitudes of the parents regarding this matter? If their naturalization rate is small, what are their attitudes regarding naturalization? And so forth.

Such research calls for a complementary study of the race prejudices of the natives against the immigrants. By tracing such prejudices back to their origins, they may be made intelligent to the broader-minded among both the natives and immigrants. Every one truly interested will be able thus to obtain an idea of what the immigrants are up against, and of some of the things that they may do in order to prevent the rise of new prejudices against them. Workers with immigrants may well take stock, of course, of their own racial attitudes; they may well examine their own racial prejudices and analyze their own weaknesses as good-will representatives.

If the social distance test, as described in Chapter II, could be taken in a bona fide way by representative groups of immigrants and of natives, and by the workers with immigrants also, a fairly good picture would be obtained of the assimilation problem that exists. Such a test would indicate what changes in attitudes and opinions the natives would need to undergo in order to give the immigrants a square deal, what changes the immigrants must make, and where racial conflicts are likely to take place.

In the next place social workers need to be equipped with a full knowledge of the culture traits of the given immigrants

and of the origins and development of these in the past centuries of immigrant group history. The immigrants' destructive culture traits will receive plenty of attention automatically, through the press, through local demagogues and through gossip, but not scientifically. Both these and the immigrants' constructive culture traits will require scientific consideration.

Still more important is an understanding of the immigrants' conflicts and problems. Life histories treated in a social case-analysis fashion will be revealing. A picture of the immigrants' longings, thwarted wishes, and unfulfilled hopes is essential. In securing these survey and research materials, success will depend upon the degree to which certain immigrants participate and coöperate in finding and in interpreting data.

Most important of all, workers with immigrants will render the best service if they master the principles of the acculturation process, that is, the process by which people change their culture traits. Delicate human adjustments, fine sentiments, emotional upsets, the development of new behavior patterns are involved. The process by which immigrants give up their loyalty to one set of values and acquire a loyalty to values that are strange and foreign is complicated, deep-seated; it cannot be engineered well by amateurs or zealots. Understanding and zeal both are needed; either one alone is inadequate if not harmful.

When the local racial survey is completed, classes for the study of immigrants, of the community in which the immigrants live, of the acculturation process, of the local race problems, may be organized under church, club, or community auspices. The knowledge of the few regarding the immigrants may be disseminated among all the natives of the community, and an intelligent public opinion generated.

Organizing Language Classes. — Classes are needed for all immigrants who cannot use our language. Without a

common means of communication, immigrants and natives cannot expect to understand each other; the immigrant cannot protect himself from exploitation; he cannot become acquainted with the new culture; and the acculturation process is hampered, if not defeated.

Distinctions need to be made between writing, spelling, speaking, and reading vocabularies for immigrants. The writing vocabulary used by an immigrant is usually small, being confined to the need for writing letters to friends and relatives. The spelling vocabulary is also limited, being closely related to the writing vocabulary. The speaking vocabulary is represented by daily conversations with fellow workmen and employers, and with friends. It can be learned best through *speaking*. The reading vocabulary needs to be the largest. At first it is limited by the content of letters and of newspapers, but later it expands to include magazine and book materials. Immigrants, like natives, need a much larger reading vocabulary than they do writing, spelling, or talking vocabularies.

Night-school classes and classes in factories during the daytime or at the close of the day's work are essential for immigrant men. Day classes for immigrant women held wherever it is most convenient for them to come together are likewise important. It is necessary that the education of the parents enable them to read, write, and speak the new language sufficiently well, so that their children, being educated in the public schools, do not become ashamed of them and do not cease to respect them. It is charged that the public schools educate the children of immigrants away from their parents, and thus break up the immigrant's family. The only adequate reply is to be found in more education for the parents.

In teaching the immigrant the new language, the native must not feel that the immigrant is to give up his own language. An immigrant who speaks English is a bilingualist and

hence valuable as a culture medium. He comes bringing a different culture from ours. When he learns our language, he is able to contribute the best of his culture to the best of ours and thus to enrich ours.

To teach immigrants, a person need not speak their language. Other things being equal, such a person will be more successful than if he knows and uses the language of the immigrants. In the latter case he will be repeatedly tempted to make explanations to the immigrants in their tongue, thus relieving them of the necessity of thinking in our tongue.

Day-time classes in factories, or on part-factory time for immigrant men give them a better chance than classes held at night. They are not so tired. Their education is not relegated entirely to a second place in the day's work. Education as a spiritual asset deserves to be placed ahead of material and commercial values.

Appropriate textbooks, methods, and equipment will repay any additional expenditure that may be involved. A text labeled *English for New Americans* has a much better psychological effect on the immigrant than one entitled *English for Foreigners*. Classes which meet around tables are much preferable to those in which adults sit in formal classroom seats made for children.

Home-teaching work is generally needed for the immigrant mother. She is usually the most isolated member of the immigrant family. She often needs training in household economics, in economical ways of buying food and other necessities, in scientific ways of preparing food, in sanitary science and personal hygiene. For natives to be invited into the immigrant's home and to give helpful assistance in the care of children and household management is of greatest importance.

Training Immigrants for Citizenship. — It is not enough that immigrants cram for naturalization examinations. It is worse, however, if they develop a dislike and a sense of

reproach for their adopted country. At least a three months' course, generally under the auspices of the public school, is essential in helping the alien to catch the meaning of citizenship in a new land.

Education for naturalization is a delicate process. The immigrant cannot be lectured or threatened into becoming a "citizen." Workers with immigrants must remember that naturalization is denaturalization for many immigrants, in the sense that the immigrant must give up his loyalty to his native country and to a degree to his race. If he comes from a nation of which he is proud, then denationalization or the giving up of his nation loyalty is very difficult; he cannot become truly naturalized in his adopted country without wrenching loose some of the deepest loyalties that were developed in him in his pre-immigration days.

Every naturalization worker, whether voluntary or otherwise, who has not first learned the nature of the process by which a person gives up certain loyalties and acquires new ones is likely to do both the immigrant and his country more harm than good. In the same way that an American who goes to a foreign country "to make more money" reacts in favor of his native country when blunt attempts are made to get him to throw away his loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, so an immigrant may react in favor of his native land if Americanism becomes too blatant.

To get an immigrant to develop a new nation loyalty is an indirect and involved psychosocial process. Direct measures usually fail. The best procedure to follow is to see that the immigrant's living and working conditions become more attractive. If wages increase and if chances to move into "a better community" are afforded, then a new nation loyalty will automatically develop, and the old nation loyalty, unless challenged by the natives in the new land, will gradually take a secondary place.

To arrange for public citizenship exercises on the Fourth

of July or some similar occasion for those immigrants recently admitted to citizenship is excellent, providing such exercises are kept on a dignified plane and convey a genuine spirit of welcome, the inner and deeper meanings of citizenship, and an opportunity for the immigrant to begin participating in and contributing to the community life. Participation, after all, is the keynote of any sound citizenship program for immigrants, but it must be participation in building up community life, in bettering economic and social life, and in creating a more artistic and wholesome life.

Standards of admission to citizenship need to be put upon and kept on a high level of personal worth and achievement and then to be applied to all who can qualify, irrespective "of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Admission to the country may well be placed on the same level. Since "race" is now recognized by nearly all ethnologists as a myth, and since every person is entitled to treatment on the basis of worth and achievement rather than on accident of birth, a sound program requires fair play be accorded each person as such. No nation, of course, can afford to be overrun by what it may regard as "the scum of the earth"; but the personal test, if placed high enough, and administered adequately, will render protection to the nation, guarantee justice to the immigrant, and not disturb international good will. The "personal tests," however, should not be primarily of an industrial character; that is, an immigrant should not be admitted chiefly for the work he can do, but rather for the citizen he can become.

Working with Immigrants by Example. — Example is more important than precept in dealing with immigrants, as with any one else. The immigrant worker, or any native for that matter, who rides into a peasant-immigrant district with wealthy show, who "preaches" one-hundred-per-cent patriotism but violates speed laws, income tax laws, or even the moral code, or who "pities" or upbraids the immigrant

for his shortcomings, arouses in the immigrant adverse reactions of an indelible nature. No kind deeds by a volunteer immigration worker can overbalance the oaths hurled by "bosses" at slow-moving immigrant peasants. To allow immigrants to be taken advantage of in our land, either by natives or by their own countrymen, cancels years of sound social welfare work.

In politics, the party boss who buys up the votes of immigrant citizens cheapens "democracy" almost beyond recall. To lecture the immigrant on his duties as a citizen or to put him in jail for voicing earnest protests, while allowing native wealthy Americans not only "to get around the law" but to boast about doing so, is fatal to assimilation.

The best kind of work with immigrants is that which sets them constructive examples in citizenship under pleasant circumstances, which gives them opportunities for economic and social advancement, which draws them out spontaneously in contributing the best of their culture and personalities to their adopted land, and which enables them to participate constructively in the local community life and development.

PROJECTS

1. Map out a program for meeting the first time with a group of immigrants who wish to learn our language.

2. Outline a program concretely for making a thorough study of an immigrant colony in your community, using two paid workers and untrained, volunteer workers.

3. Prepare a budget for the above-mentioned study, covering a period of six months, including the writing and the publication of the report and incidental items.

4. Make out a program for naturalization exercises in your community for forty immigrants belonging to a number of races.

5. Study the housing conditions of an immigrant colony, and indicate the economic and other changes needed to put the group on a socially satisfactory basis.

6. Examine the labor conditions of an immigrant colony, and

make all recommendations for putting it upon a socially satisfactory basis.

7. Analyze the family life, organization, and problems of an immigrant colony.

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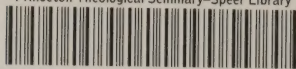
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